CYPRUS UNDER THE TURKS

CYPRUS
UNDER THE TURKS
1571—1878

A RECORD BASED ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE ENGLISH CONSULATE IN CYPRUS UNDER THE LEVANT COMPANY AND AFTER

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WITH MAP

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TO

H. PIRIE-GORDON

PREFACE

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H. C. Luke.

Tiflis,
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CYPRUS UNDER THE TURKS

INTRODUCTORY

As chronicles of the three hundred years during which Cyprus was ruled by the dynasty of Lusignan are abundant, so are the records of the three hundred years of Turkish domination scanty, despite the fact that the Turks continued to rule Cyprus until 1878. But the explanation is simple. The three centuries during which the island was governed by the kings and queens of the House of Lusignan were the most brilliant epoch of its varied history. In every aspect of mediæval civilization the little kingdom played a distinguished part; its remarkable achievements in every domain of human activity invested it with an importance among the nations of Europe wholly out of proportion to its small size and population. Its constitution was the model of that of the mediæval feudal state; its laws, as embodied in the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, a pattern of mediaeval jurisprudence. It could boast, in the abbey of Bella Paise, in the cathedrals of

Nicosia and Famagusta, in the castles of S. Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara, rarely beautiful examples of Gothic architecture; its men of letters, Philippe de Novare, Guillaume de Machaut, Philippe de Mézières, occupied no undistinguished place in the realm of literature. In King Peter I it possessed perhaps the greatest knight-errant the world has ever seen; in his Order of the Sword the most perfect expression of chivalrous ideals. To Kings of Cyprus such widely different writers as S. Thomas Aquinas and Boccaccio dedicated works; the wealth and luxury of its citizens, especially in the fourteenth century, evoked the amazement of all Western visitors. Moreover, after the fall of Acre in 1291, Cyprus was the outpost of Latin Christendom in the East, with all the glamour and glory that such a circumstance involved; while for a time the trade and riches of Famagusta vied in importance with those of Venice. An *épopée* of this kind could not fail to find its singers.

The history of Turkish rule, on the other hand, offers none of the attractions of the wonderful epoch which was separated from it only by the eighty-two years of the Venetian occupation. It reveals no tale of martial exploits and fabulous wealth, no efflorescence of Frankish art and letters on the rich Levantine soil. Rather is it a story of provincialism and decay, of contracting commerce and unenterprising administration, a story not regal but parochial. Only at rare intervals does a picturesque incident interrupt the somnolescence in which Cyprus lay after her feverish

activities of the Middle Ages; from being a kingdom renowned throughout Christendom the island was become an obscure Ottoman dependency.

Thus it is that the records of Turkish rule in Cyprus are few. Its solitary chronicler, the Archimandrite Kyprianos, published his history of his native island in 1788; for the ninety years yet to elapse before the British occupation we have nothing in print beyond the descriptions of occasional travellers, and sundry references in histories of Greece to the rising of 1821. There exist, however, in the island certain archives of the British Consulate in Cyprus, beginning in 1710, and continuing, intermittently, until the abolition of the Consulate, consequent upon the British occupation, in 1878. These archives, examined here for the first time, enable us to fill, partially at all events, a gap in the history of Cyprus, which the island's distinguished past and promising future should no longer suffer to remain.

The documents contained in the archives are varied both in language and in their subject matter. Dating back to the time when the English Consuls in Turkey were appointed by the Levant Company, and ending with the British occupation of Cyprus, they serve not only to shed light on the internal history of the island during this period, but to illustrate the manner in which events taking place in other countries reacted upon and were echoed in what in the early nineteenth century was still called 'il regno di Cipro.' Few of them, except in the years

immediately preceding the British occupation, are in the English language. The Ottoman officials, in their communications with the Consular Corps, employed either Turkish, or, in occasional informal letters, Greek; the Consuls generally wrote in Italian, sometimes in French; included in the archives is correspondence in Arabic and in Armenian. The task of examining more than 10,000 documents, in seven languages, was thus no light one, the more so as bad handwriting, faded ink, and other ravages of time have rendered the majority of them difficult to decipher. I have preserved, in quoting, the inaccuracies and eccentricities of spelling and punctuation of the originals (when not translated), except where so to do would have been to obscure the sense; and it will be remarked that the authors of not a few letters were by no means masters of the languages they wrote in. Many of the papers examined proved, of course, to be of no general interest. The earlier ones, in particular, are mainly concerned with the disputes of British subjects and protected subjects, which came before the Consul in his magisterial capacity, and with shipping questions. These are of no importance, but, as the following examples indicate, are occasionally amusing:

'To Her Brittanic Magestays Consul, Larnaca.

'Sir,

'This morning in ordering my Crew to put 175 Bars Iron into a Lighter and to receive on board 2 Lighters of ballast they refused to do

so in Consequence of been Sunday. my motives for getting the ballast in this day was to make my vessel seaworthy and to Proceede to sea this day for Alexandretta but in Consequence of the Crew refused to Do their duty I have been detained. when I found it was of no avail to remonstrance with them my Self mate and two apprentices commenced Discharging. about 9 a.m. the Crew came on Deck in a state of intoxication three of them commenced fighting which caused the Ship to be in a State of mutiny their Language was Shocking.

'Sir I beg your Protection and advice what to Do with such People. I hope the Detention will be made good by those that have been the cause of it.

'Sir your most humble and obedient Servant,

'John Peters.

'Witness, William Tatham.

'P.S.

'Sir,

'I hope you will Excuse my writting for the Excitement have my hand to be unsteady.

'J. Peters.

'*Decr.* 16, 1838.'

'Larnaca,

'*March* 15, 1840.

'Dear Sir,

'I am under the necessity of requesting you to exert your authority with one of my seamen named John Thomson he insulted me on

saturday because I would not allow him to come on shore to gett more Grog he has given me very insulting language a great many times during the voyage for which I forgave him, now he begins to threaten me for which I consider my life in danger besides he declares he will not leave Larnaca in the Williams.

'I do declare unto you her Magesties representative and our only magistrate that I will not leave this port of Larnaca to be insulted and indangered with the said John Thomson (Mutineer I declare him to be) on board wherefore it is for you to decide whether he is entitled to his wages or not and by your decision I will abide.

'I am Your obt. Servt.,

'George Welch.

'Brig Williams.

'Mr. Vondiziani, Act. Vice Consull, Larnaca.'

The archives are unfortunately very incomplete, but they recall, nevertheless, many political changes in Europe, and register the rise and fall of dynasties and nations. Correspondence there is with the Citizen Consul of the French Republic, one and indivisible, at Latakia, of the month Messidor of the year IV; to the French Commissaire in Cyprus succeeds the Imperial Consul of France, to him the Consul of His Most Christian Majesty the King of France and Navarre. On the seals of French Consular documents appear successively the Angel of the Revolution, the Imperial Eagle, the fleur-de-lis of the *ancien régime*, the hideous coat of arms

inflicted upon Louis Philippe, the *roi bourgeois*. The representative in Cyprus of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces becomes for a while the Consul for the Batavian Republic before settling down as Consul for the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Of the ephemeral Kingdom of Westphalia there is fleeting mention, also of the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway in now unfamiliar combination. The English Consul corresponded frequently on shipping matters with the Consuls of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, also with the representative of "Sa Majesté Sarde," still titular sovereign, through Queen Charlotte of the House of Lusignan, of the Kingdom of Cyprus. There was much business with the "United States of the Ionian Islands," some with the Dey of Algiers and with the Bey of Tunis; and there are allusions, as we shall see, to vessels that flew the flag of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Of correspondence between the English Consuls and the local authorities in Cyprus there survives but little prior to the accession of Sultan 'Abdu'l Mejid in 1839; the most interesting of the papers of the early years of the nineteenth century are the private letters which passed between Consul Vondiziano and Bartolommeo Pisani, member of a family long connected with the British Embassy to the Porte. Of all the archives, however, those likely to prove most valuable to the future historian of Cyprus are probably three important despatches, which were

addressed by Vice-Consul Sandwith to the Ambassador in Constantinople between 1867 and 1869. These admirably informative documents, reproduced in full in Chapter III, provide us with authoritative details as to the condition and administration of Cyprus towards the end of the Ottoman dominion; they are, in fact, the only source of knowledge of this period, other than the Consular reports issued between 1857 and 1878, and such Turkish records as may lie forgotten in the pigeon-holes of Stambul.

Although English trade in Cyprus declined visibly after the disappearance of the Levant Company, it is satisfactory to read in a German traveller's account of his visit to Cyprus in 1845 that 'among the European consulates the English certainly takes the most distinguished position, although the English commerce is quite unimportant. The English here as elsewhere in the East are at some pains to exact as much consideration as possible.'[1] After 1825, however, the persons with whose interests the British Consuls in Cyprus were entrusted were almost wholly British-protected subjects of Ionian origin. For Cephalonians and Xanthiotes in particular Cyprus at one time seems to have held many attractions; and a bundle of Ionian passports included in the archives, issued by the 'Lord Alto Commissario' of the Ionian Islands, and endorsed 'cancelled, as bearers have been proved to be rayahs,' indicates the widespread

[1] Ross, *A Journey to Cyprus*, English translation by C. D. Cobham, Nicosia, 1910, p. 106.

desire of Ionians to reside in Cyprus under British protection. To judge from the records of the Consular Chancery, the Ionians in Cyprus were a litigious and quarrelsome little community, a prey to petty jealousies, and prone to be sceptical as to each other's commercial probity. They lived principally at Larnaca, which has always been the residence of the Consular Corps, and which, under Turkish rule, was also the leading port in the island, the seat of the Tijaret or Commercial Court, and the head-quarters of the Sanitary, Quarantine, and Customs Administration. Indeed, Larnaca owed its commercial predominance during this period to the fact that here dwelt the small but wealthy body of Roman Catholics (generally known in the Near East as Latins), who virtually monopolized the foreign trade of the island. While of varied descent—French, Ionian, Venetian, Genoese, Maltese, Syrian—the members of this body were under the protection of Great Britain, France, or some other European Power, and most of the European Consular representatives were chosen from among them. Enjoying the privileges of Franks, and exempt from the disabilities to which the *rayahs* were liable, the Latin merchants of Cyprus had a strong pull over the Orthodox Cypriote merchants ; Larnaca at this time far exceeded in prosperity the Orthodox Limasol. But when, at the British occupation, the Capitulations ceased to be operative in Cyprus, the position was reversed. The Latin merchants, no longer favoured by the Capitula-

tions, had now to compete on equal terms with the more numerous Orthodox, no longer *rayahs*; and their commercial supremacy, undisputed in the period dealt with in this volume, was at an end.

CHAPTER I

TURKISH RULE IN CYPRUS, 1571–1788

WHILE the existence of an English Consulate in Cyprus is first heard of in 1626, its archives in the island, with a few isolated exceptions, date back no farther than the latter half of the eighteenth century. We have thus no contemporary series of records from British official sources of the condition of the country during the first two centuries of Turkish rule, although we are fortunate in the possession of the narratives of Pococke[1] and other travellers, and of the unofficial notes of Drummond[1] and de Vezin,[1] both of whom held the office of His Britannic Majesty's Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus. It would be superfluous to transcribe here these valuable accounts of the state of Cyprus, seeing that their relevant chapters, together with extracts from the works of close on eighty other writers about Cyprus, have been made readily accessible in a single volume by the industry of the late Mr. Cobham.[2] On the other hand,

[1] cf. Appendix I.

[2] *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, by C. D. Cobham, C.M.G., B.C.L., M.A.; 2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1908.

it would seem necessary, in order to render intelligible the period covered by the archives, to include within the scope of this work some account of the history of Cyprus from the Turkish conquest to the time when the Consular documents begin to speak for themselves. It so happens that the Archimandrite Kyprianos, sole chronicler of Turkish Cyprus, brings his history of his native land[1] down to the end of 1788, the year of its publication—that is to say, almost exactly to the date of the earliest regular archives; it is on his pages, therefore, as translated by Cobham, that we have principally to rely for the record of the period to be bridged.

For a brief sketch of the history of Cyprus prior to the Turkish conquest the reader is referred to *The Handbook of Cyprus*[2]; nor need the designs on the island of Sultan Selim II, the incidents of its conquest by his General, Lala Mustafa, and of the heroic defence of Nicosia and Famagusta, detain us here. Our story begins with Bragadino's surrender of Famagusta on August 6, 1571, the date on which the Venetians in Cyprus ceased all further opposition to the Turkish army of invasion; and only those earlier events will be recalled which are necessary to explain how the Turkish conquest affected the status of the Cypriote population.

It has been the fate of Cyprus, almost through-

[1] Archimandrite Kyprianos, Ἱστορία χρονολογικὴ τῆς νήσου Κύπρου, Venice, 1788.

[2] Luke and Jardine, *The Handbook of Cyprus*, London: Macmillan, 1920.

out its long history, to be governed by rulers differing in race and religion from the bulk of its inhabitants. Although the island, owing to its geographical situation, had received the impress of many peoples and many civilizations, its most enduring element, in speech and blood, proved to be that imported by the Ionian settlers; and to the time of the Turkish conquest the native population, except for small Latin, Maronite, Coptic, Jacobite, and Armenian colonies, was Greek in religion and in language. The last Greek-speaking ruler of the island disappeared, however, in 1191, with Isaac Comnenus's ephemeral Empire of Cyprus; between then and 1571 the island was in the hands of a small ruling class of Latins, French in the Lusignan period and Italian in the Venetian, superimposed upon the Greek-speaking and Orthodox Cypriotes. Socially, the principal characteristic of the Lusignan Kingdom, brilliant as it was if regarded solely from a Frankish standpoint, was the state of serfdom in which the native peasantry was maintained for the benefit of the French feudal nobility. Ecclesiastically, the policy of the Lusignans was to effect the subordination of the autocephalous Orthodox Church of the people to the Church of the ruling race. Roman Catholic sees were endowed with property taken from the Orthodox bishoprics; and a series of acts of oppression culminated in 1260 in the issue by Pope Alexander IV of the famous *Bulla Cypria*, whereby the Latin Archbishop was made the supreme ecclesiastical chief of Latins

and Orthodox alike. All tithes were made over to the Latin clergy; the Orthodox Archbishopric was suppressed; and such of the Orthodox bishops as were suffered to continue were relegated to distant villages, and compelled to take an oath of obedience to the Latin bishops who had ousted them. The Venetians, whose eighty-two years of rule in Cyprus were little more than a military occupation, preserved the principles upon which their predecessors, the Lusignans, had governed the island; so that it is no cause for wonder that the Orthodox turned to the Sultan for 'that deliverance which they seem never to have quite despaired of eventually obtaining'; and that, on the arrival of the Turks, 'the Greek inhabitants everywhere readily welcomed the invading forces, once a prospect of getting rid of the detested Latins seemed really to have come at last.'[1] Contemporaries such as Gratiano, Bishop of Amelia,[2] eye-witnesses such as Fra Angelo Calepio,[3] Superior of the Cypriote Dominicans, who was taken prisoner by the Turks after the capture of Nicosia, bear testimony to the sympathy which the Turkish forces received from the Cypriotes; the latter even relates that it was a native who, on the fall of Nicosia, hauled down from the Palace the

[1] Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, together with some account of the Latin and other Churches existing in the Island*, London, 1901, pp. 172–3.

[2] *De Bello Cyprio*, lib. ii.

[3] Narrative of the sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta, contributed to the *Chorograffia et breve Historia universale dell' Isola de Cipro* of Fr. Stephen de Lusignan, Bologna, 1573.

standard of S. Mark and hoisted in its place the Ottoman ensign.

The conquerors, for their part, while showing no mercy to the Latins, treated the Cypriotes with the consideration that their goodwill toward them had merited. They assured to them the free enjoyment of their religion, with the undisturbed possession of their churches; gave them permission to acquire houses and land, with the power of transmission to their heirs; and recognized the supremacy of the Orthodox community over all other Christian denominations in the island. So uncompromising a hater of the Turks as Kyprianos is compelled to admit that 'the Greeks, who to a certain extent preferred to be subject to the Ottoman, rather than to a Latin, power, were even glad in their wretchedness, because so far as concerned their rites and customs, they escaped the tyranny of the Latins.'[1] In view of the long series of subsequent complaints, in part well founded, of Turkish misgovernment in Cyprus, it is well to bear in mind that at the very outset of their administration the Turks granted to the Orthodox inhabitants two boons far outweighing the drawbacks of oppressive taxation and partial administration of justice. They abolished serfdom, under which the peasantry had groaned even during the Byzantine domination; and they restored the Orthodox Archbishopric, which a Christian Church had caused to be in abeyance for three hundred years. 'Those who for cen-

[1] *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 348.

turies had been mere bondmen on the soil,' says Hackett, the historian of the Church of Cyprus, 'were now on payment of a trifling sum constituted its possessors, with the right of succession to their descendants.' This was a change in the status of the majority of the population far greater than any they had known before; and the restoration of the Archbishopric had results almost equally important.

The Church of Cyprus, while forming, like the Churches of Russia, Greece, Serbia, and some ten others, a portion of the 'Holy Orthodox Eastern Church,' is, as are those Churches, 'autocephalous and isotimous.' It enjoys, that is to say, the right of electing its own head, the Archbishop, and it is independent of outside ecclesiastical authority. Next, in fact, to the four original Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the Cypriote Church is the senior of the autocephalous Churches, owing this position to its Apostolic foundation by S. Paul and S. Barnabas, and to the confirmation of its independence by the Emperor Zeno in the year 478. On this occasion Zeno conferred upon the Cypriote Primate certain privileges enjoyed by no other ecclesiastic, privileges which have been jealously retained to the present day. They include the right of signing in red ink, a prerogative shared only with the Emperor himself, of wearing a cope of imperial purple, and of carrying an imperial sceptre in place of a pastoral staff; whence it will be seen that the Archbishop of Cyprus, though

his Church was small, enjoyed an exceptional position in the Orthodox world.

During the Turkish regime the Archbishop represented to his own flock on a smaller scale that which the Patriarch of Constantinople represented to the generality of the Orthodox in Turkey. That is to say, he was not only the spiritual chief of the Cypriotes; he became the ethnarch, the political and national representative of his people in its relations with the Ottoman Government. By an astonishing reversal of fortune the Archbishops of Cyprus, whose office had been recreated by the Turks after lying dormant for three hundred years, secured, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the supreme power and authority over the island, and at one time wielded influence greater than that of the Turkish Pasha himself. How they achieved this result will, however, be described later; we must now revert to the consideration of the measures whereby the Turks consolidated their hold upon their new conquest.

No serious attempts were made by any Christian State to challenge the Turkish occupation of Cyprus. At the beginning of the seventeenth century certain of the Orthodox hierarchy and clergy appealed in a half-hearted way to two Italian princes, Charles Emmanuel of Savoy (1580–1630) and Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609), both of whom laid claim to the titular crown of Cyprus in virtue of their relationship to the last legitimate sovereign of the House of Lusignan, Queen Charlotte, married

in 1459 to Louis of Savoy. The efforts of the Duke of Savoy went little farther than secret negotiations with the Archbishop of Cyprus as to the conditions upon which the Cypriotes would be prepared to recognize him as their sovereign. In 1601 the Duke received through his envoy Accidas a document of twenty-four articles, containing the terms of the people of Cyprus,[1] and in his reply he announced to the Archbishop his intention of sending two other emissaries to Nicosia to continue the negotiations. Soon after, however, more important matters nearer home diverted his attention from Cyprus; and although in 1632, and again in 1668, the Court of Turin was approached by Cypriote ecclesiastics with schemes for the expulsion of the Turks, nothing definite resulted from their overtures. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was somewhat more active in the matter,[2] and in 1607 actually equipped an expedition. But his fleet, 'instead of attacking Famagusta seriously, merely degenerated into a piratical raid in the Levantine Sea, in the course of which a sum of more than two million ducats was secured by the capture of a Turkish caravan from Alexandria. All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries plots and schemes were proposed for the recapture of the island, but no serious attempt was ever made

[1] cf. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1852–1861, vol. iii, pp. 566 sqq.; Hackett, pp. 205–8.

[2] cf. Mariti, *Viaggio da Gerusalemme per le coste della Soria*, 1787, vol. ii, ch. 9.

by any European Power after this futile cruise of the Tuscan fleet in the summer of 1607.'[1]

Let us now turn to the narrative of the Archimandrite Kyprianos, bearing in mind that this zealous lover of his country lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and that by this time the Orthodox Cypriotes, chafing under Turkish maladministration, had forgotten the tyranny from which the Turks had freed them.

'After the unhappy surrender of Ammochostos[2] on August 6, 1571—I ought rather to call it the general captivity and enslavement of such of the wretched Cypriots as survived—Mustafa Pasha, the General Commanding in Chief of the conquering army, received, before sailing for Constantinople, from Sultan Selim II, commands to organize and arrange with all speed such matters as the safety of the island required, and then to sail for the capital. At Ammochostos he set up as governor a certain Bey of Rhodes, Forca Framburaro, a Spaniard and renegade, and, as the common tradition of the island asserts, a Pasha of two tails: At Paphos another Pasha of two tails; and at Nicosia as being the former royal residence and seat of government, Muzaffar, a Pasha of three tails, and of higher rank than the others. To him was entrusted the general government of the island.

[1] Jeffery, *Famagusta*, in Journal of the R.I.B.A., Third Series, vol. xv, no. 20.

[2] The Greek name of Famagusta, from ἄμμος-χώνω, 'hidden in the sand.'

'Mustafa now returned to Levkosia,[1] and ordered that a census should at once be taken of the inhabitants (in Turkish *ri'aya* or *left*) remaining in Cyprus. In making this census of the villages and their inhabitants, he not only used the books and accounts of the Latin sovereigns, to discover how much revenue the island yielded to the royal treasury, but examined certain unhappy Cypriots, once chiefs among their fellows, who after the sack of Nicosia came down from the mountains, and surrendered as *ri'aya*, to wit—Scipio Caraffa, Peter Paul Syncleticos, Tuzio Constanzo, Livio Podocataro, Giovanni Muscorno, Orsatto Lusignan or Lazania, Giannetto and Ettore de Nores, and others who had been captured and freed on payment and on condition of remaining *ri'aya*. To these, the story goes, he left their property, and even enrolled some in the army, though it is doubtful indeed if he would have taken Greeks as *sipahi*, for we know the hatred the Turks bear to other races, and their distrust of Christians, especially such as they have conquered in war. Nevertheless the *Parici* and *Perpiriarii*, who were slaves of the chiefs and upper classes, who could not own land, and whose very selves and children were their masters' property, never ceased to help the Turks, for they hoped under their yoke to find freedom and rest. They made known to the commission of inquiry and to the Pasha the revenues, estates, villages, and even in detail the families in each village and their houses.

[1] The Greek name of Nicosia, the capital of the island.

And the Levkarites, who were among the first to submit, paid this homage of their own accord, and received, it is said, certain exemptions therefor.

'When the inquiry was complete there was found a taxable population, from fourteen years old to fifty, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Copts, and other races, of about 85,000, not reckoning women, children, and old men. Before the capture there was a total population, as we learn from the historian Coronelli, of 197,000 souls, so that we may accept the statement that after the Turkish occupation 18,000 taxable males were entered in the registers. Leave then was given to these people at a very small ransom to hold land, and to cultivate it as their own, and without further charge to hand it down to their children, being bound only to pay the so-called third of the produce, which varied according to the locality, and might be a fifth or seventh or eighth or tenth. The inhabitants were further divided into three classes, as the order stands now, and (as many believe) has stood from of old. Men of the first class paid each a yearly poll-tax or *kharaj* of eleven piastres. Those of the second and less prosperous class paid five and a half; the poorest or third class three piastres only. But Fra Vincenzo Coronelli, the official geographer of Venice, writing of the island after the Turkish conquest, says that the Cypriot rayah was made to pay six piastres for the privilege of following his religion. And Fra Angelo Calepio, a native of Levkosia, who was

taken captive in the siege of that city, and wrote an account of the two sieges, says much the same. It appears that over eight hundred villages were entered on the list, probably as thinly inhabited then as we have known them.

'And as at that time there was great dearth in the island, because the land was left unsown on account of the war, and especially the Mesaorian plain, which had been wasted by the enemy's forays, Mustafa Pasha, by command of the Sultan, disbanded his numerous regiments, and sent the men to their homes; those only remained who were rewarded for their bravery with pensions, and others who wished to settle in Cyprus; and, as Calepio says, and as he heard from others while a slave in Constantinople, about 20,000 Turks remained as settlers: perhaps he means that, seeing the island so scantily inhabited, the Pasha left so many men as a colony rather than a garrison.

'While this enumeration of the villages and their inhabitants was in progress, he arranged the military system necessary for the defence of the island. There were detailed for the whole of Cyprus 1,000 *yenicheri*,[1] with their commandant the *yenicheri-agha*, and another officer under him, the *col-kiaya*, the fourth in rank of the four aghas of Levkosia, and twenty-eight *chorbaji* of the same corps, of whom fourteen were styled *yayabashi*, that is to say captains respectively of horse and foot. He enrolled also 2,666

[1] Janissaries.

sipahi[1] under forty-two *zaim*; thirty-two of these were posted to the garrison of Levkosia, and ten to those of Ammochostos and Paphos. To the command of these *zaim* and *sipahi* were appointed three superior officers called *Alay Bey*, the chief of these being stationed at Levkosia, and the

[1] The following is part of the note prefixed by Cobham to his extract from Kyprianos:

'In the *Qanun-Nameh*, or statistical code of the Empire, originally compiled by order of Sultan Suleiman I (1520–1566), the Province of Cyprus is entered as furnishing "1,667 swords, of which 40 are *ziamets*, and the rest *timars*. The *begs*, *zaims*, *timariots* and *jebelis* amount to 4,500 men. Cyprus, 9 *ziamets*, 38 *timars*. Alayah, 0 *ziamets*, 152 *timars*. Tarsus, 13 *ziamets*, 418 *timars*. Sis, 2 *ziamets*, 52 *timars*. Icheili, 16 *ziamets*, 602 *timars*. . . . There are here a *Defterdar* of the Treasury and of the feuds, a *Kiaya* and *Emin* of the *Defter* and *Chawushes*, an *Alay Bey*, and a *Yenicheri-bashi*. The *Sanjaqs* are Icheili, Tarsus, Alayah, Sis or Khas. The following have a *Salianeh*, or annual allowance from the Treasury, Kyrenia, Paphos, Famagusta and Nicosia. It is a large island, and contains 30,000 Moslem warriors, and 150,000 infidels." (See the Traveller's narrative, *Seyyahat-Nameh of Evliya Efendi*, 1611–1680, translated by J. von Hammer, 4to, London, 1834, pp. 93 and 104.) Sir P. Rycaut, in Knolles' *Turkish History*, 6th ed., 1687, gives the figures rather differently, and adds "the government of Qibris hath a revenue of 500,650 aspers."

'A *zaim* for every 5,000 aspers of rent, a *timariot* for every 3,000, received from the Grand Signor, was required to bring into the field one horseman or *jebeli*. The rent of a *zaim* was always under 100,000 aspers: above that sum the fief would be that of a *sanjaq-bey*. The rent of a *timariot* was always under 20,000; above that sum the fief would be that of a *zaim*. The *sipahi* received their pay (12 to 100 aspers a day) direct from the Treasury. The *yenicheri* likewise received from the Treasury 1 to 12 aspers a day, with rations and uniform. Three aspers or aqches made a *para* or *medin*, 40 paras a piastre.'

other two, who were subordinate to him, at Ammochostos and Paphos. These are the two so-called *ojaqs* of the *sipahi* and *yenicheri*, that is to say the two corps of cavalry and infantry, to whose guardianship was committed the safety of the whole island.

'To each corps was assigned its necessary pay. To the *yenicheri* each year 12,000 piastres, collected from twenty-four *muqata'a*, fiefs specially dedicated to this service, to wit, the Customs of Larnax, Lemesos, Paphos, Ammochostos and Kyrenia: the two Salines of Larnax and Lemesos, and sixteen villages, Ashia, Levconico, Enagrai, Kiades, Elia, Koilanion, Palaikythron, Kazaphani, Bitzada, Apalestra, Peristerona, Pege, Levka, Lemesos, Eski Shehr or Palaia Chora, Achera, Lapithos, and other besides. The land of these villages pays tithe on all its produce, and their inhabitants pay each one piastre yearly for the tax called *spenza*. To the same corps is assigned the *iktisabliq*, that is to say one of the *chorbaji* is appointed to examine from time to time the sale price of comestibles: the same officer seals all fabrics of cotton, linen and wool: he is assisted by two *yenicheri* called *yasaqji*, and these too take some small duty on all loads which enter and leave Levkosia. Other 2,000 piastres are assigned towards the yearly cost of this corps, and these are levied from the rents of the water of Episcopi, Colossion and Levka, and from certain imperial *spenzai*, payable here and there by the inhabitants of particular villages. The auditor of this revenue, appointed solely for

this duty, is the *defterdar efendi*, the first in rank of the four aghas of Levkosia. This officer had formerly a *defterdar-kiaya*, and seven villages for his personal pay, Peristerona near Morphou, Petia, Amiantus, Galata, Kalliana, Peristerona near Paphos, and Anogyra, from which he still receives a fifth of the produce, an eighth of the barley, and a *spenza* fixed at six piastres for each inhabitant. The aghas of Levkosia, or the richest of them, farm out the twenty-four fiefs (*muqata'a*) and, after the system called *tadakhul*, or anticipative encashment of three or even five years' dues, they clear four times as much, so that the 12,000 piastres mount up to 47,000 piastres a year.

'But of the cavalry corps, each division—*sipahi* and *timar*—was paid from the tithes of all the villages not assigned to the *yenicheri*, and from the annual *spenza* paid by their inhabitants. Besides these were two minor commands or *sanjaqs*, of Paphos and Carpasion, with an income of 10,000 piastres, perhaps for the maintenance of the Pashas of those districts. The *sanjaq* of Paphos was paid out of the tithes, *spenza* and garden tax of twenty-four villages in the two sub-districts of *qaziliqs* of Paphos and Abdim; that of Carpasion, in the same way, from seven villages of the *qaziliqs* of Ammochostos and Carpasion. But after a time, when these two *pashaliqs* were suppressed, and there remained only one Pasha at Nicosia as Governor-General of the island, the income from Ammochostos and Carpasion was dedicated to a mosque

at Constantinople, under which it was farmed by notables of that city. And in the same way the so-called *chiftliqs* (farms) of Morphou, Polis tes Chrysochou, and Kouklia, with their dependent villages, fourteen belonging to Kouklia, seven to Polis : Morphou counting only its own inhabitants. The labourers of these *chiftliqs* pay only two Turkish florins apiece in imperial taxes. The Pasha of Levkosia used to take the revenue of the *sanjaq* of Paphos, as well as the pay of the *defterdar-kiaya*, the two making up 9,000 piastres, which were collected from the *muqata'a* of the two villages of Zodias, and partly from other villages, for the office of *defterdarkiaya* had been suppressed long since as superfluous.

'It appears moreover that the Turks were not satisfied with the old division of the island, as it stood under the Lusignan kings, into twelve districts, but redivided it into seventeen *qaziliqs* : Levkosia, with Orini, Kythraia, Mesaoria, Ammochostos, Carpasion : Paphos, with Chrysochou, Kouklia, Avdimi : Larnax, with Lemesos, Episcopi, Koilanion : and Kyrenia, with Morphou, Pentagia and Levka. These comprised, as we have said before, 850 villages. Yet in this eighteenth century only 550 remain, and these much less thickly peopled than the older ones. This, there is little doubt, was the oldest arrangement, older than the Christian kings, when the island had tenfold as many inhabitants as now. In each of five larger villages or towns on the seashore was installed an officer called a *dideban* or *zabit*. They were named by the Governor

or Pasha for the time being, and were dependent on him. These were stationed at Larnax, Lemesos, Paphos, Kyrenia and Ammochostos, and paid yearly to the Governor 5,000 piastres. For the defence of the coast from the incursions of corsairs or hostile vessels there were eleven *serdars* from the above-named corps, sent with the privity of the Governor, as well as others called *disdars*, chosen to direct the defence of the fortresses of Ammochostos, Lemesos, Larnax, Paphos and Kyrenia. Thus you have, kind reader, a short of sketch, although not a very clear one, of the organization of this unhappy island from the Turkish conquest up to the present day.

'I am bound to say something too about the religious organization of the Turks in the island, at least as it exists at present. A *molla* is sent from Constantinople for perhaps a year or more as guardian and defender of the faith, and as judge in commercial disputes, differences, debt, damage and insult, in contracts of marriage and titles to houses and lands, with power to decide and to punish with forty stripes save one. Under his jurisdiction lie the five *qaziliqs* of Levkosia and Orini, Kythraia, Morphou, Pentagia and Carpasion, from whose inhabitants he receives a monthly salary. To the other *qaziliqs* are sent *qazis* of the class of readers of the Qoran, natives or strangers, who judge in the disputes of the inhabitants of the villages in their *qaziliq*, and receive from them a small monthly salary, for their own maintenance, and in repayment

of the sum claimed either by the *molla* at Levkosia, or by the persons at Constantinople who have the right of farming out these offices. The whole monthly sum paid by them exceeds 2,000 piastres, some paying less than 100, some more, according as their *qaziliqs* are thickly or sparsely peopled. What the *molla* receives and pays I do not know exactly, but I imagine that his yearly income exceeds 15,000 piastres, clear of all outgoings.

'As we have already said, after the capture of Ammochostos, and up to the new harvest of the following year, 1572, there prevailed great and distressing dearth and famine, the result of the war; although Mustafa Pasha, and others who were put in authority under him, tried to encourage the peasants to sow, yet the result was small, because they had not sufficient seed. The very few Cypriots of the ruling classes who were left after the war gained their freedom somehow or other, but, like other citizens of Levkosia, were stripped of all their goods, and having no other way of gaining a livelihood and the means of paying the poll-tax, became labourers and muleteers, hawking wine and the like from place to place, and selling it to get a living: a humble employment, and very different from their old stately condition. The inhabitants of Ammochostos remained in their houses, and appeared at the time to be the owners, yet afterwards the Turks dispossessed many of them, on the pretext that they were tenants only, not owners; and thus they bore all the unimaginable ills which

these new and bad neighbours could inflict upon them. . . .

'At last, after the great calamity which had reduced the island to misery, somehow or other the poverty-stricken inhabitants began little by little to address themselves again to the culture of the soil, to some small commerce with strangers, and to those few arts which still survived in the towns. At the very beginning the dues and outgoings did not press so very hardly on the rayah, because the Porte knew how the country had been impoverished by the war: and the Pashas sent to govern it were to some extent controlled by the Porte, lest their harshness should drive the rayah to leave the island, or at least to revolt, for which his degraded condition would be an excuse. So that after fifteen or twenty years the Christians redeemed nearly all the monasteries from those who had seized them, and much of the church lands as well. Churchmen of position left money for Masses for the repose of their souls, or bestowed it by way of gifts.

'Yet there were still a few who contrived somehow to escape from the island, not enduring a new and barbarous yoke: these were scattered abroad over Crete and the Morea and Corfu and Venice; for the two islands were then under Venetian rule. But hardly fifty years had passed when the taxes imposed on the rayah were increased, and the Pashas one after another in their insatiable avarice trampled down the people, and the aghas who had already come from Constantinople to make money, and others who

followed them, were a burden on the inhabitants. The island was suffering from repeated droughts, and the ravages of locusts, the peasants began to emigrate, and the country was gradually becoming a desert. Often enough the rayahs laid their griefs before the Porte, declaring that it was impossible for the island to bear the cost of a Pasha and his train: and especially through a great dearth in 1640, and in the following year a terrible plague, the island was wasted and ruined. The Porte gave heed at last to the manifest sufferings of the people, and sent a *muvela* or examiner who sought out and wrote down name by name every rayah in Cyprus, and found (they say) hardly 25,000, including old men and children of twelve and fourteen. From that date the Porte removed the two Pashas of Paphos and Ammochostos, and left only the Pasha of three tails at Levkosia, though his train was somewhat curtailed of followers and servants. The taxes too were somewhat lightened, but the *kharaj* remained as before: and the Porte published a firman, that Cypriots wherever they might be were to return to their country, where they would only have to pay the second year eight or ten piastres each as taxes.

'After the Porte had shown thus much interest in the island, Cypriots scattered here and there heard of it, and those who were free from family burdens returned to their country, hoping they would find the exactions lightened, according to the imperial commands. Furthermore, about the same time fortune-hunters from Constan-

tinople were debarred from taking the *aghaliqs* on coming to Cyprus, and the Turkish *zaims* and *sipahi* who were left in the island began to hold the four local *aghaliqs*, the Porte being really desirous to relieve the country of some of its many burdens. For many of the Turks settled in Cyprus were sufficiently rich and influential. They farmed their offices however from Constantinople, not from the Pasha for the time being. Nevertheless hardly twenty years passed, and the rayahs were fewer than more in number; because the commands of the Porte were again neglected, and the insatiate Pashas exacted taxes as before, or even threefold more greedily. Drought, the incessant ravages of locusts, and the failure of commerce by reason of the wars waged by the Sultan with the Venetians in Crete and the Morea, and other troubles innumerable, reduced the Cypriots to such straits that many fled to the Syrian coast with their families.

'We are led, although with no great certainty, to conclude that on account of the desolate state of the island in the year after the conquest of Crete, or even before this, the Porte reduced Cyprus from a *pashaliq* and placed it under the supervision of the *Qapudan Pasha*,[1] by whom there was appointed from time to time as its chief a petty governor or *musellim*, with a fixed salary of 12,000 pieces of Seville, or about 15,000 piastres, which impost was called *nuzul*. For the collection of the *kharaj* there was sent from Constantinople a special collector, and it is said

[1] The Admiralissimo of the Turkish Navy.

that he distributed among the rayahs 15,000 notices of assessment. Another tax, called *ma'ishet*, was claimed and paid every year to the *Qapudan Pasha*. This being the state of affairs, the local aghas, who had grown in importance through their wealth, their dignity, and protection at the capital, set to work and obtained from the *Qapudan Pasha* the administration of these revenues ; and whether under orders from Constantinople they farmed them, or collected them as agents, it was they who appeared then to be the masters and rulers of the island. It is easy to understand this from a narrative of the revolt of the famous Mehmed Agha Boyaji-Oghlu, which appears to have happened about 1680. This narrative I get directly from that worthy gentleman Monsieur Benoît Astier, Consul of France, who has, up to this present year 1788, presided in a highly becoming manner over the honourable guild of French merchants in Cyprus, and has always in his dealings both with governors and governed shown kindly feeling and given useful help : in whose honour I set down his statement in his own words :

' " I learnt something from popular tradition, and I also obtained excellent information from the lips of an aged Turk of 97, and from a Greek almost as old, who had both been eye-witnesses of a rebellion which occurred in this island about eighty years ago, and lasted seven whole years. Cyprus was then, like Rhodes and the islands of the Archipelago, under the rule of the *Qapudan Pasha*. The yearly *kharaj* due to the Porte was

collected by a *kharaji* ; the *ma'ishet* was collected on behalf of the *Qapudan Pasha* ; and the *nuzul* was assigned for the maintenance of the governor sent by that officer. It was fixed at 12,000 pieces of Seville (Spanish dollars), then worth fifty paras each.

'"The aghas of Levkosia who farmed these imposts, sometimes one sometimes another of them, fell to rivalry and quarrelling ; then they took up arms and attacked one another, until Mehmed Boyaji-Oghlu got the mastery over them all, was proclaimed leader, and stood out as a rebel for seven years. He paid every year to the *kharaji* sent by the Porte the appointed *kharaj*, which these collectors had hitherto to beg for, and used to keep for their own ends. He appointed in all the *qaziliqs* men devoted to himself, who were the administrators. The Porte, learning that this Boyaji-Oghlu had thrown off all pretence of subjection, sent to Cyprus Cholaq Mehmed Pasha with a force to restore order. They received him at Levkosia, but after a few months' space, when he tried to assert his authority over the said Boyaji-Oghlu, the rebel compelled him to leave Levkosia, and to retire to the *chiftliq* of Qubat-Oghlu, where he lived as a neat-herd, every care being taken to prevent news of his present condition reaching the ministry. Yet not long after news did reach them, and forthwith Chifut-Oghlu Ahmed Pasha was ordered to cross from Caramania to Cyprus, wth an armed force to release Cholaq Mehmed Pasha, and to wipe out the rebel chief.

' " Ahmed Pasha crossed accordingly, landed at Acanthou, and marched straight to Kythraia, to seize at once on the mills, so that no corn might be ground, and he could stop the supplies of Levkosia, the rebels' stronghold. There he stayed for two months, and Cholaq Mehmed came to meet him. During this time he sent troops to the gate of the capital, where they engaged and skirmished with those of the enemy; not with any idea of disabling thereby the rebel host, but to prevent the ingress and egress of any kind of supplies or merchandise.

' " The city then found itself without bread, and the Pasha, knowing that he had help at hand, though no one dared to declare himself on account of the rebel, proposed to Boyaji-Oghlu to allow him to withdraw, sending him a passport as a safe-conduct. The rebel, seeing that the Pasha had the stronger party with the city, left it by night with one company of trusty guards, and marched first to Levkara, and then to Levka, where the Kiaya[1] of the Pasha surprised him, killed twenty-eight of his men, and took thirty-two others prisoners. From Levka he went to Kykkos, and so far strengthened himself that he was able to repel the Kiaya, who had followed him up. From Kykkos he went to Paphos,

[1] The original meaning of *Kiaya* (literally transliterated *Kietkhuda*) is steward, or one who farms the lands of another. As an official title, as here, it means Deputy or Assistant. In modern times the *kiaya*, or *kiahaya*, is the official employed by Turkish Government Departments as their representative at the Central Office of the Government to follow up their letters, and see that they do not get overlooked or pigeon-holed.

and thence to Kyrenia, where he caught one of the Pasha's famous spies, and hanged him on a tree opposite the fort. Pursued on all sides by the Pasha's troops, he made for Ammochostos in all secrecy, hoping to fortify himself there, but before he arrived they had shut the gates, and the Pasha's force routed the few soldiers left to him. He fled with six men only to Pyla, then to Larnaca, intending to go to Lemesos, but he was caught in the *qaziliq* of Koilanion and carried to Levkosia, where the Pasha hanged him by night, and on the morrow he was exposed with his followers, who were hung up alive, on hooks through their chins. And thus, after a lapse of seven years, ended this rebellion. All his followers and several rebel leaders were caught and put to death. Many strange stories are told of them, especially in connection with beautiful women, and a certain Frankish family S.A. which spent large sums for the honour of receiving this Boyaji-Oghlu, and to keep out of his way one of the ladies of the house, whom he tried by every kind of influence to subject to his lust."

'Now that this rebel and his followers were destroyed, the Porte appears from this date to have constituted the island a government under the Vazir, taking away the administration thereof from the *Qapudan Pasha*, and a governor or *muhassil* was now sent by the Vazir for the time being. He was allowed the fullest executive and administrative authority, and was entrusted not only with the government of the inhabitants, but with the usual *boghcha*, or demand-forms of

imperial taxes, and with the *qaftans* of the four local *aghaliqs*. He was therefore governor, and collector of the imperial taxes, of the *nuzul* and *ma'ishet*, and administrator of the four *aghaliqs*. So that upon one and the same person devolved the civil government, the military command, and the collection of all the imposts, whereas formerly one man administered the government, another exacted the *kharaj*, and other officers were appointed from Constantinople to the military commands. And this is the new order which still obtains in Cyprus. Although we have not any certain evidence of the time when, and the reason why, the island became the *Khass*, or special appanage of the Vazir, it will not be out of place to mention that in 1702, by reason of the revolution which dethroned Mustafa II and put Ahmed III in his place, the then Vazir, a prudent and experienced statesman, put down the rebellion, and received Cyprus as a gift from the new Sultan, as we learn from certain Italian sources: after which it remained in the hands of the Vazirs. Towards the end of the century, in 1692, a great plague desolated the island, sparing, we learn, hardly a third of its inhabitants.

'About 1712 the wretched Cypriots had scarcely begun to enjoy a little rest after the plague, and other unceasing troubles which harassed the island and still harass it, when a new tumult and turmoil broke forth. Certain rascals from the Turkish fleet (Levendler or Qalionjiler), about twenty in number, landed at Levka,

entered Levkosia armed, and lodged together in a *khan* or inn. There, in conversation with others of their kind, they disclosed that news had reached the Porte of the inhuman tyranny exercised indiscriminately by the then *muhassil*, and of the intolerable burden of taxes which he exacted from the rayah; and after waiting confirmation the Porte had sent them with firmans to depose him from his office, and further to sentence him, and the aghas who abetted him, to death: and they went on to brag that they had instructions to put things on a better footing to the rest and relief of all. These and the like stories they spread about among the lower classes, so as to gain these to their side. When night came they broke into the houses of the aghas first, caught them and bound them on the spot, and hurried them off as prisoners to their khan, threatening that they would slaughter them as the chief causes of the evils; their aim being in securing the aghas to draw into their net many others, and finally to proceed to capture the *muhassil* himself. But their villainous craft was soon exposed, for some who pretended to be their friends, staggered by their extraordinary daring or perhaps won over by the aghas who were in custody, outwitted these knavish sailors, and learned that their whole story was false, and that they had no other aim, but to snatch large sums of money, and to be off. When the aghas learned the game they made every kind of promise that if they would release them, and let them go quietly to their houses before their capture was

known in the city, they bound themselves by oath to pay them all the money they wanted. Their promises deceived the rascals, and they were released, and in concert with the *muhassil* laid their plans for the arrest and destruction of these high-handed impostors. Accordingly on the morrow the *muhassil* and aghas sent to invite the chief of the sailors to come and take the sums promised by the aghas ; adding that he would be received with fitting respect, and that the *muhassil* would arrange with him in what way he and his friends might mediate with the Porte, and secure the forgiveness of the local officials, as though it was hoped that their intercession and testimony would convince the Porte that the island was quite well governed. The wretches were deceived, and sent their leader with two others of the band to the Serai. The Governor straightway put them under arrest, and sent to the others to come and assist at their council. These remained in the khan, and the delay in their companions' return exciting their suspicions, they began to fly, but they were at once caught by the Janissaries, and paid the penalty of their wicked daring. Some of them the courts sentenced to be hanged, some the Governor impaled, and those who were already in his hands he strangled, and thus himself, the aghas, many other notables, and the city generally were delivered from the wiles of this band of miscreants. . . .

'It was, I say, further permitted by Heaven that this unhappy island should suffer another

unexpected blow, and encounter the most terrible danger ; while the rumour of such great and complicated troubles terrified the inhabitants indiscriminately from the least to the greatest, as in the days of the conquest. Death had been rife, emigration frequent, men were driven from their homes by the exactions, and the harvest was small. All these causes had reduced the number of the rayahs liable to the payment of the twenty-one and a half piastres to hardly 7,500, without counting 1,500 cripples, blind people, old people, paupers, and children of eleven years and under. The 10,066 warrants were exacted inexorably, while the extra payments extorted by the *muhassils* on behalf of the Vazir increased year by year. The inevitable expenses of the Palace and the administration were covered by the extortion from the richer families of forty or fifty piastres : the middle classes were squeezed to give thirty, and children, old and sick persons, ten, fifteen and even twenty. The harvests were scanty, commerce insignificant, distress evident everywhere. Twice and thrice the bishops renewed their complaints to the Porte. But, alas ! they were not heard. The Porte was troubled with wars and rumours of wars, and could lend no ear to the wails of the Cypriots, or of many others of its subject states which were equally loud in lamentation.

'At last in 1764 came that rock of offence, that cause of all our ills, the Muhassil Chil Osman Agha, over head and ears in debt, by reason of the huge sums either exacted from him, or offered

by him to the Porte, to obtain the Governorship of Cyprus. The wretch hoped to regain what he had paid, and fantastic wealth besides. But his evil fate exposed him to the wrath and indignation of the people, so that he was assassinated with eighteen of his *choqadars*. The fact that the imperial tribute was ready for dispatch to Constantinople, the pillage and robbery committed by the mob, and the assassination itself brought the whole population, great and small, Turks and Christians, into imminent danger of the Sultan's wrath, had it not been that God was pleased to inspire feelings of pity into the heart of the sovereign.

'When Chil Osman had read the firman conferring on him the post of Governor, he allowed a few days to pass after the ceremonial visits, and then, through the Dragoman, Haji Joseph, proposed to the Archbishop and the rest, that, as his office was burdened with a debt of many purses, he had calculated that unless he received from every rayah whose name was entered on the demand warrants forty-seven piastres, he should not be able to meet his engagements. The prelates were astounded, and replied that as they had fared with his predecessors, so they hoped to fare with him, but to collect such a sum from the rayahs, thinned as their numbers were by death and emigration, was altogether impossible—they talked to him and implored him, but he remained inflexible, and began to threaten them that he would harry the monasteries and exact contributions from them, and inflict fines

upon the bishops for their obstinacy. They were confused, and finding that their entreaties had no success they sent messengers secretly to Constantinople with petitions to the Porte, imploring mercy, and setting forth the implacable rapacity of the *muhassil.* The messengers, though after some delay, obtained through the *Silihdar Agha* speech of the Vazir, and carried away a strongly worded firman, commanding the said Chil Osman not to exact more than the sum fixed by the imperial rescript, or he would be punished. Meanwhile, the messengers were long in returning, and the Governor never ceased to press for promises and signatures about the matter in hand, and for the circulation of such among the rayahs. Paisios then took counsel with his suffragans, and they arranged to escape by night. They started, but, because the Bishop of Cition did not keep the secret, they were caught the next morning at Liopetri, at a spot called *the River*, by the Governor's men, and carried back to Nicosia, where Chil Osman ordered them to be guarded night and day in the Archbishop's house, fearing lest they should again escape, and accuse him to the Porte as a robber.

'At last about the middle of October there appeared a *Vazir Choqadar* bearing the aforesaid imperial order. The Governor was sick with vexation, still October 25 was appointed for the reading of the document : not, however, publicly in full Divan, but in an apartment of the palace, in the presence of the Ulema, the aghas, the bishops, and a few Greeks and Turks, on the day

when an ancient custom collects people from all parts of the island to the fair of S. Demetrios, held outside Nicosia. Here the villagers buy and sell what they want for their fields, and for their winter use, they make terms with their creditors, and transact various business. The persons above mentioned assembled accordingly to hear the order, which was read, when the Governor began in a reproachful tone to ask the Archbishop what harm he had done the rayah, that the Archbishop should accuse him to the Porte. Paisios replied, "God forbid, we came with tears to implore mercy on the poor rayah, but we never accused you." He had hardly spoken these words, when the floor on the side on which we Greeks stood, for I was among them, suddenly and utterly collapsed, and we were hurled into a black gulf, bishops and attendants, Greeks and Turks, with other victims, and the beams of the roof heaped on top of us. With no small damage and risk of our lives we freed ourselves, and were dragged out covered with dust and dirt, scarred all over, a sorry sight! We were carried to our houses, one with an injured back, another with a broken leg: some had internal injuries, some were so terrified that they thought death imminent. The meeting was broken up, those present fled in alarm, and the people outside, hearing what had happened and the tumult within, believing it to have been a trap prepared beforehand to kill the bishops, rushed madly to the palace, carrying bludgeons and arms. They found the doors shut, they set them on fire, the

palace was wrapped in flame, and the mob pouring in slew the wretched Chil Osman, with eighteen of his followers. They sacked and robbed the palace of all they could find, whether it belonged to government, to the murdered Governor or his train—a terrible tragedy. The news spread and all were dumb as corpses, Ulema, aghas and rayahs, all crouching in mute terror, expecting only that the sword of authority would fall on all alike, and that inexorable vengeance and savage requital would be exacted for the blood thus savagely shed.

'Three or four hours passed before there was any lull in the shouting in the streets, in the rush and roar of men running to the sack of the burning palace. The bazars were shut, and all the respectable people shut up in their houses, suffering paroxysms of terror. They believed that the city was wholly given over to revolt, murder and pillage, and the Turkish magnates, though sadly distressed, took prudent measures to disperse the mob, lest the rioting should increase, and be directed against the houses of the wealthy and prominent citizens. The Molla, by the *dellal* or crier, straightway commanded the villagers, Turks and Christians, in the name of the Sultan, to disperse and depart each to his village. They obeyed and left Nicosia forthwith. Orders were given for the burial of the *musellim* and the other victims; the fire in the palace was extinguished, and guards were set to watch the city within and without, and carefully to search every one who entered the gates for concealed arms.

'When night came the Ulema and aghas met in the Molla's house to consult about appointing a temporary administrator, and to contrive the most prudent method, and most specious pretexts, with which to announce the daring action of the mob to the government. How should they devise any reasonable justification and excuse, so that the Porte should not think that the island generally had risen in revolt? The murder of the sovereign's representative, the pillage of the treasury and robbery of the imperial funds, the burning of the Serai, or official palace—here were three indefensible crimes, which would require tact and wisdom, and common feeling and action of both Turks and Greeks, to make them appear natural results of the tyrannical harshness of the murdered *musellim*, which had been such as inevitably to drive the people to the fury and daring which they had displayed. So they debated, and found some specious excuses, representing the Governor as a tyrant, and something like a traitor, and so concocted their report to the Vazir. I omit the details as unimportant. Meanwhile the Turks in their mosques, the Christians in their churches, offered unceasing prayers and supplications, that God would be pleased to inspire the Sultan's heart with pity, and that the lives of the Cypriots might be spared. At last the news reached the Vazir, and he, too, softened down the affair as well as he could to Sultan Mustafa III, and after no long delay Hafuz efendi came as *muhassil*, to complete the term of the deceased

Chil Osman, and later a *muvela* and *qapiji-bahis* to ascertain if what the magnates had written was true, to examine minutely into the causes of the slaughter, to exact the repayment of the sums stolen from the palace, and blood-money for the *musellim* and his followers.

'The commissioners made their inquiry, and the kindly souls were won by gifts to declare the deceased the cause of the outbreak, and to justify the offenders. The relations of the murdered men presented themselves, and each received the price of blood. The leading men among the rayahs promised to be responsible for the imperial taxes to the last *para*, the parts of the Serai which had been burnt were restored, and excommunications were hurled by the Greek clergy against those who had stolen things from the palace, if they did not restore them to their bishop, or parish priest, or to their church, or to certain mosques specially named, which they might do without fear: but very few people appeared, and very few things, and those of little value, were surrendered. The Molla and his party threatened the robbers with the vengeance of Mohammed, but all in vain. But the thieves who had taken the treasure guarded it well; the Christians devoted their souls to the fellowship of Judas, the Turks to the wrath of their Prophet: they would provide first for their bodies, and then take thought for their souls, though hereafter they should suffer the vengeance of eternal fire.

'We succeeded, thank God, in satisfying the

muvela and the *qapiji*, and the Molla, who was our advocate: we escorted them out of the city, and dispatched them to sing our praises to the Porte. Hafuz efendi remained, and now let us see what he did, whom I call the second cause of the real rebellion. In honest truth we cannot accuse him of being a bad man: their circumstances very often expose men in authority to popular dislike. He had to pay for his investiture and other things in Constantinople. Arriving in Cyprus he found things topsy-turvy. The expenses incurred on behalf of the *muvela* and *qapiji*, payment for the property of the murdered men, the rebuilding of the palace, restitution of the stolen treasure, and innumerable other payments mounted up, it was said, to a thousand purses of aspers. The whole community, Turks and rayahs, gave leave and authority to Hafuz efendi as Governor to meet all the claims, and arrange matters as he thought best. The accounts were completed and examined, and the aghas and bishops decreed that the sum total should be divided between the Greeks and Turks. The former were to pay two shares, and the Turkish villagers one. In short, the Christians had to pay fourteen piastres a head, the Turks seven. Clerks and collectors were appointed, and the Christians began to pay. The Alay Bey, Mustafa Qubat-oghlu, who was charged with the collection of the Turkish quota, sent out men to the villages to get the cash. Whispers were rife that Hafuz efendi had in his greed made large additions to the sum of expenditure. The

Turks began to be uneasy and to grumble that the aghas were in league with the *muhassil* to fleece them! "They were Turks, and they wouldn't pay," and in short raised such an opposition that in the Mesaoria they drove away the collectors, and put them in fear for their lives. These strong measures alarmed some of the leading country Turks: they began to plot, and, to make a long story short, on Holy Tuesday of 1765, three hundred Turks of the Mesaoria and Ammochostos assembled at Kythraia, and seized the water-mills which ground flour for Nicosia, so as to cut off the supply from the capital, and to put the aghas and Governor into such a strait that they would desist from demanding the seven piastres. This daring act greatly alarmed the city-folk; they determined to meet the assailants with force, and *sipahi* and *yenicheri* advanced fully armed to the outskirts of Kythraia. Finally matters were arranged between them, on the understanding that the Turks should not be troubled to pay their share, and so each party departed to their homes. Here the *musellim* and aghas were clearly wrong, in not determining to put down by force this petty rising, and in not taking such order as to check the insurgents, and prevent them from attempting, as they did later, a far greater and more desperate outbreak.

'It was necessary, however, to collect the taxes, because those who had lent money demanded the repayment of their loans, and Hafuz was eager to send money to the Porte to show that the island and himself were loyal and ready:

hence arose great talk and uneasiness among the people. The suspicion rooted in the minds of the insurgents that the Governor and aghas were certainly working for their destruction made such a painful impression that the leaders of the revolt conspired to get into their hands one of the fortresses: possibly the fools thought that the clemency shown by the sovereign towards their first offences mere weakness or indifference. Accordingly on July 27, the day of the fair at the monastery of S. Panteleemon, at Myrtou in the district of Kyrenia, to which crowds flocked from all parts of Cyprus for worship and business, many of the ringleaders attended, and found there a certain Khalil, *disdar* or commandant of the strong castle of Kyrenia, a vain silly creature, whom they easily led astray, and made their leader, promising to secure his appointment as *musellim* of the island, because he would work for the relief of Turks and rayahs alike, and gain great credit both with the people and the Porte. They swore obedience to him on the spot, and the vain fool, eager for some kind of fame, set out for the fortress, and was soon followed by a crowd of rebel Turks. He made one his *kiaya*, another colonel of a regiment, and so on; distributing posts to those he thought capable, or who commended themselves to him, so as to set up a kind of government. He sent orders and threats to the villages, that if any one, Turk or Greek, refused to obey him he would burn and destroy their houses, their property, and themselves; and in many villages these threats

were really carried out. He demanded a subsidy from the villagers, and bade them take heed that no one complied with the orders of the citizens about the fourteen and the seven piastres. They were not to pay a *para*: the disobedient were warned they would lose their heads. It is said that he collected a force of about 5,000 armed men. He sent notices to Nicosia to demand the four aghas, who were the cause of all the trouble, and the four bishops, that he might obtain reports and petitions to be forwarded to the Porte begging that the Governorship should be conferred on himself, and much else that I must pass by.

'The daring of this Khalil disturbed the *musellim* and the citizens of Nicosia; but it was now too late to check an insurrection which had spread so far. The traitor and rebel was in a strong fortress: the Turks outside the city, either through force or choice were nearly all on his side, the inhabitants of Nicosia began to suffer from hunger, the villagers were growing lawless, and the bishops, seeing no longer any way to escape the vengeance of the Porte, began to devise ways of leaving the island. The Archbishop Paisios, probably by the Governor's advice, left the city secretly, and after wandering in disguise over half the island, hiding in place after place from the rebels, escaped at last from the coast of Paphos on August 18, with Chrysanthos, Bishop of Paphos, and another Chrysanthos, Bishop of Kyrenia, and got to Asia Minor, and thence to Constantinople. Khalil advanced as far as the village of Dicomo with

cannons and a large force, and threatened to destroy Levkosia if the aghas were not surrendered to him. The cowardly citizens took fright, closed the gates and sat huddled up in the citadel: again some kind of agreement was made, and the rebel retired to Kyrenia. But when he found the citizens were trifling with him, in January he marched to Levkosia, posted himself with his forces and artillery on the heights of Hagia Paraskeva, and began to throw shots into the city, whose guns replied. He invested the town, so that no one could enter or leave it. We suffered pretty sharply from hunger; flour failed, we ate broad beans and haricot beans, pulse and vegetables for nearly fifty days. What little flour we could get we had ground in hand-mills.

'It was some time since the Porte had received news of the revolt, but either the government was dissembling, or believed that the natives could put it down. When, however, their information was confirmed by the bishops, a certain Ibrahim Bey, with two *caravels*, was ordered to start at once for Cyprus. To rid himself of the bishops the Vazir appointed Suleiman efendi, an old and discreet man, to inquire into the doings of Hafuz efendi, and to take over the duties of *muhassil*, with other orders which we shall see presently. He then instructed the bishops to embark on the vessel by which Suleiman efendi was sending his household and effects to Cyprus, while the new Governor travelled by land. Ibrahim Bey landed at Lemessos, found the revolt growing more serious, and by playing the fox managed

to smooth things down. The bishops reached Larnax in February 1766, learned that Khalil had invested the capital and was bombarding it, and remained on board until Ibrahim Bey had deceived him, by writing that he brought Khalil's appointment as Governor; the rebel then raised the siege of Levkosia and withdrew to Kyrenia. The bishops sent him *bakhshish* from Larnaca, with assurances that they had praised his conduct to the Porte, in that he had prevented Hafuz from exacting money unlawfully, and that Suleiman efendi was coming to inquire into the whole matter. He was fool enough to believe them, and sent his *khanjar* as a token of their personal safety, to show, in fact, that they might safely return to Nicosia. A few days later Suleiman efendi arrived at Kyrenia. He told Khalil that he was come to enquire why, and with whose leave Hafuz demanded so much from the Turks and rayahs: he made the rebel a present of a furred coat, addressed him as his dear son, and hinted that he brought his commission as Governor. Having done so much to mislead the insurgents, he continued his journey and arrived in Nicosia the week before Quinquagesima.

'There, after conferring with Ibrahim Bey and the natives, he decided that it would be difficult to put down the rising, and wrote at once to the Porte. Orders were sent then to Kior Ahmed, a Pasha of two tails, to Kior Keloghlu of Caramania, and to the Alay Bey of Attalia,[1] Ja'fer Bey, to transport to Cyprus a

[1] Adalia.

sufficient force to reduce the rebel Khalil and his following. Before the news of their coming reached Khalil or the people generally Hafuz efendi's term had come to an end, and Suleiman efendi was proclaimed Governor. The rebel, seeing now he had been deceived by his "dear father," marched against him and on June 1 again encamped at Mandia, full of wrath, and determined utterly to destroy the capital, and slaughter its inhabitants, his "father" and all, in revenge for the trick. Suleiman began to tremble before his son Khalil, ordered the gates to be shut, and a watch of Turks and Greeks to be set round the citadel. Then, affecting to believe that the bishops were the cause of the trouble which was endangering his life, he ordered them to sleep in the Serai, and to remain there until they saw what would happen, and the order was obeyed. Khalil fired into the city day and night, and the citizens replied, but no sally was made.

'Ten or twelve days at the most elapsed before the Pasha and his companions arrived, with a force of two thousand men. Khalil immediately raised the siege, and returned to his castle, where he fortified himself and a large following. The Pasha reached Nicosia, and marched on to Kyrenia with Kior Keloghlu and the Bey of Attalia. Ja'fer Bey and Ibrahim Bey came by sea, and surrounded the castle with their galleys. Hemmed in on every side, the silly rebel held out for forty days with his handful of adherents; pressed at last by famine, they were obliged to

surrender. Khalil's head was cut off, and sent to Constantinople. The exploit won for Ahmed Pasha his third tail. Emir Ahmed, Khalil's Kiaya, who was the first to stir up trouble, was impaled. Other two hundred or more of the insurgents were hanged or impaled, and the country was relieved of the presence of a herd of miscreants.[1] . . .

'Peace was concluded between the Turks and Russians immediately after the accession of the new Sultan Abdul Hamid, January 21, 1774. About July the island began to recover itself a little, although in addition to the old taxes four hundred new warrants were added to the *kharaj* assessment. The inhabitants, however, great and small, hoped for rest and peace, or at least to be exempt from fresh charges. It was some time since a wood-cutter of the deserted village of Clavdia, a one-eyed creature called Baqi, threw up wood-cutting, and joined the *levendler* or volunteers. He wrought a great deal of harm among the respectable villagers, and getting into the graces of an *odaliq*, the slave-mistress of some notable, became *musellim* at Attalia. Hounded thence for his villainy, he returned to Cyprus and began to play the tyrant and robber at Larnaca. Here he was made *zabit* (magistrate), but being dismissed for his tyranny by the dragoman Christophaki, the blood-

[1] For another account of Khalil Aga's rebellion, including the part played by the English Consul, Timothy Turner, cf. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro*, 1769, vol. i, ch. 20.

sucker set upon the latter and murdered him on Easter morning, 1750. Under Suleiman efendi, Governor in 1767, on account of his ineffable tricks and wiles, treacheries and persecutions, he was thrown into prison, banished, deserted, and left so poor that he would fain beg his bread in the streets. But the unhappy country which Providence allowed him to call his own was yet to suffer fresh tumult, the sad result of his crimes. Reviled and despised as a common plague, and unlettered as he was, Ismail Agha, *muhassil* in 1771, made him *defterdar*: it may have been from kindly feeling to Baqi, but more certainly because the aghas obstinately refused to pay the five hundred piastres he asked to allow them to appoint whom they would. The agitator takes up his office, and begins to spread slanders and confusion: he gets rid of Haji Joseph, who was almost a sovereign among the Greeks, and whose office of dragoman had brought him dignity and riches, and houses—the beam in the one eye of the High Treasurer. A new *muhassil*, Ali Agha, arrived. He knew the creature in 1760, when he was Kiaya in the house of his father-in-law Kasim, as shifty and hated by aghas and rayahs, and—but for the sins of the island—would have wiped him off the face of the earth. But Ali Agha fell ill, and the wily Baqi found means to evade the danger by persuading a doctor of his own kind to substitute poison for a purge. The *muhassil* died, and the Porte appointed his Kiaya to complete his term. He, too, unfortunately fell sick, and the one-eyed monster

again appears at his side with his potions ; begs, entreats and persuades the wretched Kiaya, who takes, drinks and drains the cup to the dregs, and forty days later he, too, is dispatched to his grave.

'Having succeeded so far, while the general suspicion was still thick upon him, the wretch, who was now Alay Bey, assembled the Ulema and aghas, and with infinite cunning and flattery persuaded them all, and the bishops as well, to write of him in favourable terms to the Porte, that he might be appointed to complete the unexpired term of Governorship. Things turned out as he wished, so anxious was he to see himself Muhassil of Cyprus. At the end of the year one Hussein Agha came in his room, a silly drunken creature, under whom Baqi became again Alay Bey. The island's evil luck brought to its shores the Qapudan Pasha Hassan, who was on his way to chastise Tahir Omer, Governor of Acre, who in the recent war had proved himself a traitor, and the close friend of the Russians. The one-eyed Baqi tries all his tricks, cozens and cheats the empty-headed Hussein, the aghas and bishops, and goes down to Scala as representative of the whole population to greet the Qapudan Pasha, to whom he offers gifts and obeisances. After the usual compliments, with the utmost address he implores and intreats Hassan Pasha to accept him as his *chiragh* or protégé, to assist him, and secure his appointment as the next Governor in Cyprus. He finds favour with the Pasha, obtains his promise, and in 1775, all unworthy

as he was, was appointed Muhassil, taking the style of Haji Abdu'l Baqi Agha. His wiles and rich gifts prevailed so far that he was maintained in office until 1783.

'For the first year or two with consummate craft he feigned a kind of good nature, and made no attempt to resist the just demands of the bishops, and bore himself mildly as became a poor and friendless man. He inspired evil doers with fear, and it cannot be denied that he won the good opinion of the public, and that he did not try to load the rayah with new burdens. But still he was incurably greedy, not so much to make a fortune for himself, for he was liberal enough, but to satisfy the inhabitants of Levkosia and to make a name. He meddled in all kinds of business; took from the rayah cotton, silk, wheat, barley on account of taxes at his own rates, sold at high prices, and insisted on making a kind of monopoly of produce of little value, so as to embarrass both the traders and the peasants and rouse their resentment. Thus enriched, and, mere villager that he was, puffed up by his riches, he began to build palaces and summer houses, to store water outside the city, to acquire teams of oxen and farms and mills and gardens in every direction, extorting them from the peasants, and paying little or nothing in proportion to their value. At last he put a tax of eight piastres on the rayah, regardless of his poverty. The bishops, knowing and regretting the misery of their flocks, resisted and refused. In spite of them he sent his officers out to collect the money by force and

threats. The Turks as well as the rayahs were greatly disturbed, and they compelled the bishops to leave the island secretly in August 1783, and to go to Constantinople, to lay before the Porte their complaints, and report how greatly disturbed the island was on account of his tyrannical exactions.

'The unexpected news of the bishops' flight excited Baqi's wrath, and he wrote overland at once abusing them to the Porte. The Porte made no further inquiry, but issued an order of banishment, that wherever caught they were to be exiled to Mount Athos. With threats and pressure he harried and worried the clergy and laity of Levkosia, who chose four monks in the room of the absent bishops. Baqi wrote and obtained their *berats*, and squeezed from them as many purses as he would. With these powerful agents he persuaded the Vazir to order the Patriarch to write to his brother of Antioch to consecrate them. But he failed to gain his point, and the bishops elect were not consecrated, much as they might wish to infringe the canons, and take possession of their sees. At Chios the unhappy bishops heard of their banishment, and of the search made for them by the Porte. They hid themselves in Smyrna: the Archbishop found a refuge in the house of the Dutch Consul and his wife, Madame Baroni, a lady noted for her freedom of speech towards the Turkish officials both in Constantinople and Smyrna, as well as for her great generosity and good heart. And the other prelates were housed with various

pious persons, until the anger of the Porte passed. Shortly after Meletios, Bishop of Cition, was sent secretly to the capital, and using the measures which were generally convincing there obtained the *itlaq* or release of his colleagues. By imperial command the Archbishop Chrysanthos, Sophronios, Bishop of Kyrenia, and Panaretos, of Paphos, went to Constantinople, and in an audience of the Vazir exposed the tyranny and extortion of the one-eyed Baqi, and his persecution of rayahs and Turks. The Porte was satisfied, and ordered him with threats to come in hot haste to the capital, to justify himself. He heard the commands and threats, and could not but obey, so, terrified and trembling for his life, much against his will the wretch sailed for Constantinople.

'Without waiting for his arrival the Porte nominated another *muhassil*, and the bishops were ordered to sail with him for Cyprus. The Bishop of Paphos started first and reached his country. The Archbishop embarked on another vessel, and was wrecked off Gallipoli. But by the divine mercy he escaped, and arrived unhurt at Levkosia. The Bishops of Cition and Kyrenia remained behind to await the arrival of Haji Baqi, and to be present if necessary at his trial. At last the coward Haji Abdu'l Baqi arrived, presented himself before the Vazir, was examined and found guilty of the charges laid against him. He was condemned, and stripped of his wealth and authority, and the crow remained the crow he was before, just escaping with his life. The

bishops reached Cyprus loaded with a debt of over 700 purses, and found their country had been for a year past scourged with want and dearth; the crops had failed through the drought, the people were sunk in debt and misery, and hardly knew where to look for grain. Every one was famine-struck, and business unprofitable and uncertain. Above all, the people had an evil habit of not ascribing their misfortunes to the proper source, nor the increase of their debts to the insatiate and heartless greed of the Governors, but thoughtlessly laid the blame on their spiritual fathers and chiefs; and this not only now, but from of old. Ingratitude, alas! is a very old heritage among Cypriots. Many refuse to lend a helping hand to those whose love had prompted them to risk their lives for their compatriots.

'What then? When things in Cyprus were reduced to this lamentable and miserable condition, the wicked Baqi (the Vazir by whom he was condemned having fallen, and the seals of the Empire being entrusted in 1784 to another) began to plot against the Cypriots, and expecially the bishops: but his evil machinations turned against himself. He used all his influence, collected large sums of money, and again obtained his investiture as *muhassil* for the coming term. But quickly his joy vanished, like a shadow or a dream. The news of the scheme reached the island, and aghas, ulema and rayahs hurried off in troops to the Porte, denouncing him, trumpeting forth his tyranny, and declaring with deter-

mination that the population, to the very children, would leave the country if they saw their implacable enemy and oppressor but set a foot in it. They insisted moreover that he only sought that post to get his revenge on his accusers. The Vazir was satisfied of the villainy of the one-eyed wretch, and of his aims, and forthwith, by the Sultan's command, issued a terrible decree that, under pain of death, he should never dare to land in Cyprus. He was stripped of his office, and banished to Jaffa, a desert spot: and there, Heaven lending ear to the groans of a whole people, he was soon struck by the plague, and spit out in tortures his miserable soul. His countrymen preserved the memory of his crimes by raising piles of stones in the highways and crossways, to which each passer-by adds his stone and his curse.

'But as my history must find its end in the end of this present December, 1788, a year which has been disastrous throughout the Ottoman Empire, I think it well to note here the new distribution of the imposts to be levied from the rayahs, under the order of the reigning Sultan, dated 1785.

'At that time it pleased the Porte, for high and secret reasons of state, to put up for sale the imperial revenues of many provinces, including Cyprus, which was now separated from the emoluments of the Vazirs, who for more than a hundred years had dealt with the island as their own property. From information received from other quarters, but chiefly from Michael,

son of the Archbishop Chrysanthos, an old gentleman still residing in Venice, the revenues of Cyprus were sold for 1,562,500 piastres, or 312,500 sequins. They were divided into 125 lots, each priced at 12,500 piastres. From each of these lots the buyers, Turkish capitalists and officials, enjoy by imperial decree, by way of interest, 2,000 piastres.

	Piastres
In a year's space this interest, collected from the Rayah only, amounts to	250,000
The Christian population pays yearly besides . .	65,000
The Governor, for his investiture (*qaftanparasi*) pays yearly to the Vazir	32,000
Yearly assessment, not counting other dues paid by Turks and Greeks alike	347,000

'I judged it idle curiosity, and likely to rouse the suspicions of witless persons, to set forth in detail the state-revenue of the island collected from Moslem and Christians. Yet I possess a detailed and accurate account of the sums encashed in 1777 under the rule of Baqi. For the information both of the natives and the curious stranger, I may add this, that in spite of its scanty population the island pays yearly and inevitably to its masters more than it paid under the Venetians. Yet it is scourged by locusts, and often wasted by drought: it is deficient in the inhabitants, farmers, artisans and merchants, adequate to its extent, and necessary for the development of its soil.

'As regards its administration, call it as you will a government or a tyranny, if any one would

compare the conduct of the former authorities, albeit Christians, with that of the rulers of to-day, conquerors and aliens in faith and race, he would find both equally oppressive to the people under them.

'Briefly, according to the census of 1777, in the miserable days of the monster Baqi, the families of Greeks, Armenians and Maronites, rayahs paying taxes, rich and poor together, were distributed (omitting Levkosia) in 564 villages and towns, allotted to the various sub-districts and *qaziliqs* comprised in the four districts into which the island is divided, and subject finally to the one capital Levkosia.

'You will find below a general estimate of the Turks and Christians, of both sexes and all ages, now inhabiting Cyprus; although I cannot say whether in the eleven years which have elapsed since the last census the population has increased or decreased. But there are those who think the estimate excessive, and it may be admitted to be approximative, rather than ascertained with curious exactitude.

Families of Christian Subjects assessed for Taxes in 1777

District of Levkosia

	Villages	Families
Levkosia itself contains		755
Sub-district of the Mesaoria . . .	61	1,144
,, ,, Ammochostos and Carpas .	40	957
,, ,, Orine	48	869
,, ,, Kythraia	49	926
	198	4,651

District of Paphos

	Villages	Families
Sub-district of Paphos	45	691
,, ,, Kouklia	18	201
,, ,, Chrysochou	38	577
,, ,, Avdim	16	236
	117	1,705

District of Larnaca

	Villages	Families
Sub-district of Larnaca	47	974
,, ,, Lemessos and Episcopi	70	915
,, ,, Koilanion	19	348
	136	2,237

District of Kyrenia

	Villages	Families
Sub-district of Kyrenia	31	391
,, ,, Morphou and Pentaya	43	807
,, ,, Levka	39	696
	113	1,894

Sub-districts, 17. Villages, 564. Families, 10,487.

Number of living souls

Christian population, males, about	12,000	
Females and children, at least	25,000	
		37,000
Turkish populations, according to native accounts	15,000	
Females and children, at least	32,000	
		47,000
		84,000

'There are grave doubts about the number of Moslems, who, according to many European travellers of authority, are more than the Chris-

tians. You will find it so stated in the work of Mr. John Hawkins, an Englishman and acquaintance of my own, a mineralogist, who went over the island two years ago, and noted all that was curious and interesting. His companion, also an Englishman, was a botanist, and wrote a full account of the herbs of the island used in medicine.'

From the foregoing extracts and from other contemporary accounts we may summarize as follows the changes which the administration of Cyprus successively underwent. At the conquest, the island was placed under the jurisdiction of a Pasha of three tails as Governor responsible to the Grand Vizier, with his residence in the capital, Nicosia. He was assisted by two Pashas of two tails, stationed respectively at Paphos and Famagusta. In or about 1641, as the result of famine and plague, it was found desirable to reduce the establishment, and, although the Pasha of three tails remained, his household was diminished and the Pashas of Paphos and Famagusta withdrawn. Later, the island, having suffered further impoverishment through drought, locusts, and war, was reduced from a Pashalik, and placed under the administration of the Qapitan Pasha, the Lord High Admiral of Turkey, who generally combined with his naval functions the Governorship of the Archipelago. This change, which took place in or about 1670, entailed the advantage that the Musellim,[1]

[1] A contraction of Mutesellim.

the official delegated by the Qapitan Pasha to administer the island on his behalf, was paid a fixed salary, instead of being permitted to enrich himself as best he could at the expense of the taxpayers. The Qapitan Pasha's regime was, however, short-lived; in 1702 (*pace* Kyprianos[1]) the island reverted to the Grand Vizier, but this time in the shape of a *Khass*, or personal fief. This meant that the Grand Viziers now regarded the island as a private investment rather than as a province of the Ottoman Empire; henceforth they let the office of Governor to the highest bidder, and generally for a period of only one year, the ruffianly Haji Baqi Agha being one of the few whose term exceeded that period. 'The income of the Governor is undefined, he can amass just as much as his conscience allows,' remarks de Vezin, adding with subtle humour: 'The bishops do their best to keep on good terms with him.' And Drummond comments as follows on the arrangement: 'The government is annual, so you may well imagine how the wretched people are fleeced. Muhassil Mustafa Bey, according to the best information I could obtain, has this last year extorted as much as will pay his rent, indemnify him for the presents he made, defray the expense of travelling and living, and put in his pocket 500 purses,[2] or £31,250, exclusive of innumerable things of value, with which his favour has been courted.' The Administrator of Cyprus was now generally

[1] According to Engel (*Excerpta*, p. 461), in 1720.

[2] A purse is reckoned at 500 piastres.

known as the Muhassil,[1] and, unlike his predecessors, combined with his executive and administrative powers the supreme military and financial authority. The title Muhassil indicates, in fact, his new functions as collector of the revenue; that of Musellim, which he still retained in addition to the other, applying more properly to his administrative attributes. A catalogue of the Turkish officials in Nicosia at this period, which is given by Drummond,[2] is sufficiently interesting to be worth quoting:

'The Officers civil and military, who reside in our capital of Nicosia, where the Muselim keeps his Court, are:

'The Mufti, supreme judge or Mohammadan Patriarch, by whose decision every difficulty or doubt in the law is removed or determined.

'The Molla, who is judge ordinary, and sub-governor of the city.

'The Naqibu'l Eshraf, who is chief of the race of Mohammad in the island: a clan who enjoy the honourable distinction of wearing green turbans.

'The Muselim's court is composed of a Kiaya, who is his deputy, lieutenant, and private secretary.

'Divan efendi, high chancellor and secretary of state.

'Khaznadar, high treasurer.

'Muhurdar, keeper of the seals.

'Ich-aghaler, grooms of the bedchamber and

[1] Lit. Collector. [2] *Excerpta*, pp. 278–9.

pages of honour, who are always near his person.

'Imam, chaplain in ordinary.

'Embrakhor, master of the horse.

'Vekil-Kharj, master of the household.

'Qahveji, coffee maker.

'Sherbetji, confectioner and sherbet maker.

'Bukhurdanji, perfumer, and he who carries the perfume of the wood aloes.

'Bash Chawush, keeper of the prisoners.

'Alay Chawush, buffoons, who carry batons tipt with silver, and play a thousand monkey-tricks, fitter for the entertainment of children than of sensible men.

'Mu'avinler, officers of an inferior rank, who have no particular department, but are for many purposes.

The military officers are :

'Defterdar, grand treasurer of the army, or paymaster general and high chamberlain.

'Alay Bey, general of the horse.

'Zaim, captains, or rather officers of horse, for their degrees are such as cannot be distinguished or understood by our designations and commands : they are thirty-two in number, and, in lieu of pay, rent villages, according to their several degrees of favour or promotion.

'Sipahi, horsemen, to the number of 3,000, who are paid from the tythes of the grain, and other produce of the island ; but they purchase their sipahiliqs or lands from the Muhassil, and these lands are for life.

'Yenicheri Aghasi, lieutenant general of the Janizaries or foot soldiers.

'Qolkiayasi, lieutenant of the foot soldiers.

'Chorbaji, captains of foot, to the number of eighteen, who are paid out of the villages.

'Yenicheri, infantry, to the number of 1,000, who have no clothing or regular pay, but subsist upon the produce of certain villages assigned to them, the rents of the customs, the salt lakes, etc.

'Sirdar, high marshal.

'Disdar or Qale Aghasi, governor of the castle.'

For a few years, from 1745 to 1748,[1] Cyprus became once more an independent province subject to a Pasha of three tails, first under one 'Abdu'llah, and from 1746 to 1748 under Abu Bekr Pasha, only to revert after this interlude to the Grand Vizier and his ephemeral Muhassils. But in 1785 the island, which seemed fated to be bandied about from one dignitary to another, passed for a second time from his hands into those of the Qapitan Pasha.[2] We learn from Clarke, Kinneir, Turner, and Light,[3] who visited Cyprus respectively in 1801, 1814, 1815, and 1818, that the Governors of their day were still the Qapitan Pasha's nominees; and they continued to be until an end was put to this state of affairs by the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II.

[1] Drummond, *Excerpta*, p. 284; Engel, *Excerpta*, p. 461.

[2] de Vezin, *Excerpta*, p. 368.

[3] cf. Appendix I.

It is right that a few words should be said in passing of Abu Bekr Pasha, not so much because he was the last Pasha to rule Cyprus as a separate province until 1861, but because his name is gratefully remembered even to the present day on account of the water supply with which, at his own expense, he endowed the town of Larnaca. 'For the honour of Bekr Pasha,' says Drummond, 'I must communicate an instance of the old gentleman's public spirit. While he was Pasha of this island, in the year 1747, he formed the noble design of bringing water from the river at Arpera, and occasional springs on the road about six miles from hence, to supply the people of Larnica, Salines, and the shipping. A work worthy of a great and good man, which might have cost him above fifty thousand piastres, or six thousand two hundred pounds.' [1]

The *vaqfieh*, or act of dedication to charitable and pious uses of Abu Bekr's aqueduct, is an interesting document, both as a specimen of such acts, and because the *vaqf*, or thing dedicated, was probably the most important public work undertaken by the Turks in Cyprus. The version that follows is taken from Cobham's *Laws and Regulations affecting Waqf Property* (Nicosia, 1899):

'After many prayers, thanks to God, and texts cited from the Qoran, as is usual in such documents, the Vaqfieh of Abu Bekr Pasha begins thus:

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 288.

'"On his arrival in this island, and his way to Nicosia, having noticed that there was no water in Larnaca, and that the poor people were obliged to bring it on their backs from a place two hours' distant from their town, he was touched thereat, and from that day forth he began to think of overcoming this difficulty.

'"Coming at last to Nicosia, and finding that the school situated in the courtyard of the mosque which is in front of the Palace was no longer maintained, for it was all but ruined, he straightway repaired and put it in good order. Then he built eight shops on the same line of the mosque, four on the right side of its great entrance, three on the left, two others on the right side of its eastern small door and six on the left, which gives altogether a total of twenty-three shops.

'"After all this he began the execution of his first object by digging a great many wells in his garden Stavros, at the village of Arpera, and in that of Francis near the same place, and so directing the water to Larnaca. On the course of this water in a field held by him called Colimbo, where was the first fountain of this water, he built a flour mill. This field was of thirty-seven donums' size, bounded on one side by the field of Seperoghlu, on the other by the public road, and the remaining two sides by Government land. On a field of twenty-four donums' size near the same place he planted mulberry trees, and on another of four donums' size vines and a great many fruit-bearing trees. Besides all this, he

built another flour mill on the same course of the water, in front of the bridge which is near the monastery of Hagios Georgios in the district of Larnaca.

'"Abu Bekr Pasha, in a religious Council which he held at Nicosia, transferred this property aforesaid in vaqf, in the presence of Ismail Efendi, the Defterdar, and a great many witnesses, whose names will be mentioned hereafter. He delivered all this to the said Ismail Efendi, whom he appointed trustee or administrator.

'" Abu Bekr Pasha transferred all this in *vaqf*, in the same manner as he had already dedicated his property in Constantinople, and that in other places: that is to say, enregistering them in the books, or appropriating them to the class of the Haremein Sherifein[1] *vaqfs*, under the following usual conditions:

'" That all this property should remain in his possession during his life. On his death the inheritance should descend to his sons, and after the extinction of the male progeny of the latter, to fall under the possession and control of the Haremein Sherifein. The revenue of the property to be equally divided by the administrators or trustees for the time being equally among the donor's descendants.

'"All lands and properties that shall be bought and constructed by him in future are to be added to this *vaqf*.

'"The rent received from the shops he

[1] The two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.

built at Nicosia to be divided in the following way :

20	aqjes[1]	good money	per diem	to the master of the school.
8	,,	,,	,,	to his assistants.
6	,,	,,	,,	to the administrators or trustees.
7	,,	,,	,,	to the clerk of the *vaqf*.
2	,,	,,	,,	to the scavengers of the latrines which he built in the courtyard of the mosque.
1	,,	,,	,,	to those who clean the benches which he made on the eastern side of the mosque.
3	,,	,,	,,	to the second *muedhdhins*.

' " After paying all this in good money, the trustee must retain six aqjes daily, which shall be expended in repairing either the school, the latrines, or the benches, as necessary. Accounts are to be kept of what has been expended or received, and, after being signed by the clerk, to be sent to the chief administrators for examination.

' " The flour mill to be leased yearly, but the garden and the vineyard every three years, and from the rent received to pay twelve aqjes good money daily to each of the two *suyuljis* [2] to be appointed.

' " Two *lules* (or sixteen *masura*) of water to be devoted to the irrigation of the trees of the said garden. The remainder of the water (which

[1] One aqché = $\frac{1}{3}$ para or $\frac{1}{120}$ piastre.

[2] Distributors of water.

consists of eight *lules*) after running into the *taqsim*,[1] to be directed to the following seven places :

‘ “ One *lule* to each of the four fountains situated in Larnaca.

‘ “ One *lule* to the fountain situated between the Mosque and the Fort at Scala.

‘ “ One *lule* to another place.

‘ “ Two *lules* to a fountain built by him at Scala.

‘ “ This water shall run day and night, and persons having properties on its course shall not be allowed to make use of it : and any persons reported by the administrators or trustees as having disobeyed this rule shall be warned or punished by the Mehkemeh Sheri’.

‘ “ Persons desirous of supplying themselves with this water shall comply with the following conditions : to pay for every *masura* two hundred and fifty piastres in advance, and a rent of p. 10 per annum.

‘ “ All expenses for directing this water to any place or for mending any pipes, to be at the charge of the purchaser. Owners of land desiring to buy this water for irrigation can have it for six hours a day only, at a rent of six piastres payable at the end of every year.

‘ “ If any repairs be necessary, either for the water pipes, the mills or the fountains, the trustees and clerks must go and make a valuation, trying in all honesty to do the work economically, and to watch that the money of the *vaqf* be not expended in vain.

[1] Junction of a water system.

'"The income received from the mills and garden shall serve for this latter purpose.

'"Accounts of the income and expenditure of all the said *vaqfs* must be kept, and after being confirmed and signed by the trustees and the clerk must be sent to the chief administrator of *vaqfs* every year.

'"After many prayers, Abu Bekr Pasha by his present act delivered all this property to his trustee Ismail Efendi as aforementioned, who in the presence of the aforesaid Council and the following witnesses promised to take them under his charge under the said conditions.

'"Moreover Abu Bekr Pasha by his present act earnestly and strictly enjoins on all officials, Qazis, Governors, and others that will in time to come bear rule in Cyprus to protect the rights of all the aforesaid *vaqfs*: and with the sanction of many texts cited again from the Qoran he strictly forbids any alteration of his present act, or any neglect on the part of the administrators or trustees.

'"Witness: Hafiz Efendi, son of Mohammed Efendi,
Mahmud Efendi, son of Ahmed,
and thirty others.

'"12 Rabi-ul-evvel, A.H. 1161.
"(24 February, A.D. 1748.)"'

The conquest of 1571 introduced into Cyprus, the bulk of whose inhabitants had hitherto been, as we have seen, Greek in religion and in language, a large element of Ottoman Turks. The original

Turkish settlers were principally drawn from Lala Mustafa's soldiers, who were given fiefs in the island by Sultan Selim; but they were added to from time to time by Turkish immigration from Anatolia and Rumelia. The Turks thus became a permanent factor in the population of Cyprus, and, while refraining from intermarriage with their Orthodox compatriots, and while preserving the purity of their language to an extent equalled in few other regions where Turkish is spoken, maintained relations with the Greek Christians which, if not intimate, were on the whole quite amicable. The Turkish peasant of Cyprus was subject to the same trials and tribulations at the hands of the Government as was his Christian neighbour; and when the power of the Archbishops was at its height, he felt the effects of their supremacy no less than the Orthodox peasant, with whom he was quite capable of combining against the common oppressor, be he Turkish Pasha or Orthodox Archbishop. 'The latter [*sc.* the Turks],' remarks Turner, 'have no greater privileges than the former [the Greek-Christians], at which they are constantly expressing great discontent.'

The actual proportion of Turks to Greek-Christians during this period is exceedingly difficult to ascertain, owing to the diversity of the estimates given by contemporary authorities.[1] Those of Kyprianos and the Qanun-Namé have already been quoted; Drummond puts the Turks at 150,000, the Greek-Christians at 50,000.

[1] cf. *Handbook of Cyprus*, pp. 38–40.

De Vezin, writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, gives the figures as 60,000 and 20,000; Kinneir, in 1814, as 35,000 each; Turner, in the following year, as 'between 60,000 and 70,000 souls, of whom about 40,000 are Greeks.' On the other hand, Tricoupi, in his *History of the Greek Revolution*, states that in 1821 Cyprus had 100,000 inhabitants, of whom 20,000 were Turks; an estimate far more in accord than the others with the proportion of Turks to the total population that has subsisted in modern times. The statements of the earlier writers have every appearance of being based on guesswork; and we may conclude with comparative safety that at no time were the Turks in Cyprus superior in number to the Christians.

For about a century after the Turkish conquest, the Archbishop and Bishops of the Church of Cyprus remained politically in the background. They received, it is true, the Sultan's *berat* or Commission of investiture, without which they could not exercise their episcopal jurisdiction or enjoy the temporalities of their sees; and they 'never failed to meet the imperial officers on their arrival from Constantinople, with the clergy and people, to offer the usual bakhshish or gifts, whether customary or prescribed, to these Pashas, Governors or Mollas, and occasionally to pay them visits of ceremony.' [1] In other respects, however, they took no part in the general administration of the island.

But in about 1660, to return to Kyprianos,

[1] Kyprianos.

'when plague and dearth had thinned the population, and many had emigrated to escape their debts, and the island was growing deserted, the Porte, wishing to curb in some degree the rapacity of the authorities, to save the rayah from perishing under their exactions and tyranny, and to inspire some little hope into the poor creatures still left, probably thought it politic to recognize the Archbishop of Cyprus for the time being, with his three suffragans, as guardians, in a way, and representatives of the rayah; so that the rayah might gain courage from the hope that the bishops would be heard when they appealed to the Porte on his behalf, and those still in the island would remain, and those who had fled would return to their birthplace: while the rapacious officials, conscious of the influence the prelates exercised with the Porte, would be afraid to vex the people as heretofore. A proof of some such intention on the part of the Porte is that it receives very graciously their *arz* or petition about taxes, and all complaints they may make if so be they be sent to it direct under their seals, the Archbishop's name being written in Turkish with red ink (his seal alone is found imprinted in the imperial *qayd* or register in red ink, while all the seals which accompany it, including those of the Patriarchs, are impressed in black ink), and those of his three suffragans in black. . . .

'Thus encouraged the Archbishops of Cyprus often appeared boldly in person before the Grand Vazir, stating their complaints and asking for a diminution of the taxes paid by the rayah, and

begging for help and support in other necessities. Journeys of this kind on behalf of the commonwealth were made to Constantinople by Nicephoros, the two James, Germanos, Silvestros, by Philotheos twice, by Paisios and his suffragans, and only a few years ago, in 1783, by the present worthy Archbishop Chrysanthos, with Panaretos, Bishop of Paphos, Meletios of Cition, and Sophronios of Kyrenia. And they were often listened to, and obtained assistance. But often, too, through the malevolence of the Cypriots, they suffered imprisonment and banishment in the cause of their country and their flocks.'

The misfortunes of these holy men were not exclusively due, however, to 'the malevolence of the Cypriots,' as Kyprianos, with commendable loyalty to his hierarchical superiors, would have us believe. What actually happened was that the Archbishop and Bishops, who had been allowed by the Porte to grow powerful in order to act as a check upon the local officials, soon entered into alliance with those very same officials for the purpose of enrichment at the expense of the luckless peasantry. Kyprianos is a painstaking and, on the whole, a conscientious historian; and perhaps it is scarcely fair to blame him for not calling attention to the beam in the eye of the Cypriote hierarchy. But it cannot be denied that de Vezin throws quite a different light on the episode of Haji Baqi from that cast by the worthy Archimandrite. 'Cyprus,' he says, 'is administered by a Musellim or Governor (Vice-Pasha) who is also Muhassil or Receiver-General of the

Grand Signor's revenues, and lives at Nicosia, where all the higher courts hold their sittings. Usually he would be changed every year, but Haji Baqi Agha, who was raised to this dignity by the influence of the Archbishop and his friends, held it several years, until in 1784 dissension arose between him and the bishops about the traffic carried on by them and their relations to the detriment of his own. The archbishop and his suffragans travelled in all haste to Constantinople, there to seek help. The Governor was in fact recalled, but the whole affair cost the bishops so much money that up to this day, as they pretend, they have been unable to pay the debts they then incurred.' And when, in 1785, Cyprus passed out of the jurisdiction of the Grand Vizier, the unholy alliance continued, for de Vezin goes on to describe how the Qapitan Pasha sent a new Musellim 'to Cyprus from Rhodes, a man who never does the least thing except on the advice of the Archbishop, his three suffragans, and the dragoman of the Serai,' the latter 'connected by marriage with the Archbishop.' [1]

As the Dragoman of the Serai was a person of considerable importance in Cyprus in Turkish times, it may be well to insert here Mariti's description of his functions :

'The Dragoman of the Serai holds one of the principal posts assigned to a Christian. His title signifies "interpreter in the Governor's palace," but he is really the agent who treats between the Christian population and the

[1] *Excerpta*, pp. 368–9.

Governor. I was wrong in saying he held a firman from the Porte. He is nominated directly by the bishops, who are ready to change him if he is not acceptable to the government. He must be a man of sense and tact, for his position is a very important one.

'The bishops agree to pay him four *paras* on each item of the poll tax or *Kharaj*, and he represents them in all dealings with the Governor —not in their spiritual capacity as bishops, but as the natural leaders of the people. As such they bind themselves to pay to the Muhassil, through the dragoman, a fixed poll tax, reckoned according to the population. Besides this, the inhabitants of their own free will pay fifty purses, or twenty-five thousand piastres, to anticipate and prevent the exactions which capriciously, without reason or form of law, but suggested simply by calumnious tyranny, might fall upon them. But the Governor may accept these terms or not, as he pleases. They are arranged between the Muhassil and the dragoman, and this point settled the former has no right to levy any further contributions, beyond the duty on foodstuffs exported. But he gets twenty thousand piastres from any one invested with the rank of agha, and a thousand piastres from each bishop as the contribution of his calogeroi or monks. He exacts other dues upon produce, and taxes the people to reimburse his expenditure both public and personal. The bishops, through the dragoman, agree to these impositions, which make the post of Muhassil very lucrative: if

the holder is not a person of the highest honesty his gains are immense.

'I do not know of any other country peopled by Greeks under Turkish rule where the bishops are the representatives of the people. When Cyprus was taken from the Venetians the Greek inhabitants found themselves without leaders of position, education or experience, their best men having fallen in defence of their country, and so were constrained to put forward their bishops.'[1]

Drummond, who, like de Vezin, had been English Consul in Cyprus, and, like him, may be regarded as wholly unbiassed, is equally plain-spoken as to the Cypriote hierarchy :

'These stipends (i.e. those of the Archbishop and Bishops) are very considerable in a country where living is so cheap, and so many fasts observed ; yet all the bishops have other expedients for making sums of money : they move from place to place as traders, without bestowing the least attention upon their charge ; and frequently the archbishop raises general contributions under the deceitful veil of employing them in pious uses, or paying some extraordinary *avanie*, or special assessment of the Turks. For example, in the year 1743, the archbishop for the time being with the countenance of the Musellim, who shared in the robbery, levied from the poor people no less than 40,000 piastres : but they complained so effectually to the Porte, corroborating their complaints with bribery, that he was stripped of his archiepiscopal robes, dignity and

[1] *Viaggio da Gerusalemme*, &c., vol. ii, ch. 9.

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emoluments. Indeed, there is no difficulty in obtaining this kind of satisfaction, for nothing is more agreeable to those corrupt ministers than complaints, because both plaintiffs and defendants enforce their arguments with presents, which must be renewed every hearing: and if the plaintiff gains his point so far as to make an empty saddle, the whole profit accrues to these ministers, who not only sell the vacant place to the best bidder, but afterwards share in the plunder of the new purchaser.' [1]

'When the Governor,' says Mariti, 'wishes to impose some tax on the Greek *ri'aya*, or subjects, he does not address himself to the people directly, but to the interpreter and he to the Archbishop, who sends notice to the several dioceses to make the most convenient arrangements, to avoid annoyances or to lessen the demand. The poor subjects might very often be saved from oppression if their Archbishop were not from policy, and sometimes from personal interest, ready to lend himself to the exactions of the *Muhassil*, so that they are often abandoned by the very person who ought to take their part.' [2]

The famous Spaniard Don Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich, who travelled and wrote under the name of Ali Bey el Abbassi,[3] and visited Cyprus in 1806, leaves us the following observations:

'The Greeks pay their bishops tithe and first-

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 280.

[2] *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro*, vol. i, ch. 1.

[3] cf. Appendix I.

fruits, fees on dispensations and others, and large voluntary offerings. These princes of the Church receive the imposts assessed on the community so as to pay to the Turkish government its annual claim, and to share with it a kind of monopoly. The government has never succeeded it learning how many Greeks there are in the island. They own to a total of thirty-two thousand souls: but well-informed persons raise this number to a hundred thousand. Last year a commissioner was sent to make an exact enumeration of the Greek families, but he was "got at," loaded with gold, and went away—his task unfulfilled. This handling the taxes brings enormous gains to the spiritual heads of the people, who suffer in silence lest a worse evil befall them.' [1]

Kinneir confirms the conclusions of previous writers.

'The Governor and Archbishop,' he observes, 'deal more largely in corn than all the other people of the island put together; they frequently seize upon the whole yearly produce, at their own valuation, and either export or retail it at an advanced price; nay, it happened more than once during the war in Spain, that the whole of the corn was purchased in this manner by the merchants of Malta, and exported without leaving the lower orders a morsel of bread.' [2]

And Turner, who had been attached to the staff of His Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte, writes that:

'Cyprus, though nominally under the authority

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 396. [2] Ibid., p. 414.

of a Bey appointed by the Qapudan Pasha, is in fact governed by the Greek Archbishop and his subordinate clergy. The effects of this are seen everywhere throughout the island, for a Greek, as he seldom possesses power, becomes immediately intoxicated by it when given him, and from a contemptible sycophant is changed instantaneously to a rapacious tyrant. Accordingly the peasants of Cyprus, both Mahometans and Greeks—not a single Jew is allowed to live in the island—are so insufferably plundered that their labour is barely capable of supporting their existence, and they yearly desert in great numbers to the coasts of Caramania and Syria. The least *Kharaj* they pay is of thirty piastres, and the greatest sixty-five; that is, each whole family. Their utmost gains are from 400 to 500 piastres a year, and of this they pay annually to the government and to the Greek convents 250, but for the sum paid to the convents—by far the greater part—they are forced to give sixty-five paras to the piastre, though the regular change in the island is only forty.'[1]

It was only to be expected that the acquisition by the Archbishop of the supreme authority in the island should have provoked deep resentment among the Turkish population, who felt that their position as conquerors had been changed into that of conquered. For a long time their natural docility, coupled with the fact that the Archbishop had the Turkish officials on his side, prevented any manifestation of discontent; but

[1] *Excerpta*, pp. 447–8.

at the beginning of the nineteenth century there came the inevitable reaction. The incidents of this reaction, which shattered the political ascendancy of the Orthodox prelates and completely altered the administration of the island, will be related below, in the chapter dealing with the Consular correspondence.

CHAPTER II

THE LEVANT COMPANY IN CYPRUS 1626–1825

'FROM 1511 to 1534,' says Theodore Bent in his Introduction to *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*,[1] 'we hear of certain "tall ships belonging to London, Southampton, and Bristol, which made voyages to the East, trading with Sicily, Crete, Chios, and sometimes Cyprus, Tripoli, and Beyrout in Syria"; but there appears to have been no systematic commerce carried on in English bottoms in those days, most of the trade between the Levant and England being conducted by the Venetians.' It was primarily in order to remedy this state of affairs, which was unfavourable to the growth of English trade with the eastern Mediterranean, that certain merchants of London were incorporated in 1581 as the Turkey Company, receiving from Queen Elizabeth a patent extending for seven years.

On its expiry in 1588 the patent was not renewed in its original form, owing to a conflict of interests between the Turkey Company and

[1] London, 1893; being No. lxxxvii of the Hakluyt Society's publications.

the Venice Company, which had been founded in 1583. In 1592, however, both Companies were amalgamated as the Levant Company, with a charter granted for twelve years. At the end of this period the Company received a permanent charter, which remained in force, with minor alterations, until surrendered to the Crown in 1825.

As we have seen, the earliest English archives preserved in Cyprus date only from the eighteenth century; and our knowledge of the activities of the Levant Company in the island prior to that period is scanty in the extreme. For such information as we possess we are largely indebted to the researches[1] of Mr. G. Jeffery, F.S.A., late Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, among the Letter-Books of the Aleppo Consulate, which were removed to the Public Record Office in 1910. And as the references to Cyprus in these books are stray and scattered, it is only in a fragmentary manner that we can reconstruct the history of the earliest English commercial settlements in the island.

The Cyprus Vice-Consulate may be traced back to 1626, for the oldest of the Aleppo Letter-Books contains a reference, dated July 22, 1626, to 'Petro Savioni, Nro V. Consolo in Cipro.'[2] In 1631 we find in the Minutes of the Court of the Levant Company in London an allusion to trade with the island, in the shape of sailing orders for one of the Company's ships. 'Leghorn was

[1] Published in *Notes and Queries* of March 20 and 27, 1915.
[2] Jeffery, *Notes and Queries.*

again the first place of call after London. The ship in question might stay there fifteen or twenty days, or indeed so many days as were needed to discharge and relade. From Leghorn she was to make for Zant, stay there three days, and then proceed to Scanderone,[1] where she might stay thirty days or more, according to the time she required for discharging. Thence she should make for Cyprus, where forty days were allowed her, in order that she might be able to take in her lading, half of which at most should consist of cotton wool and cotton yarn.'[2] In 1636 occurs the first regular appointment of a Consular officer in Cyprus. 'At the Court of Assistants of May 19, 1636, a letter was read from Mr. Glover, "who hath taken upon himself the consulship of Cyprus," asking for the Company's approbation. The Court approved, holding "that it was very necessary to have a consul in that place." At the General Court held June 2, 1636, Glover was appointed vice-consul, with the consulage of his place towards his maintenance, and he was to be subordinate to the consul at Aleppo.'[3]

'Aleppo' (I quote from Jeffery, *N. and Q.*) 'in the seventeenth century was the emporium of the Indian trade: Venetian, French, Dutch, and English merchants constituted a large community within its walls, and in the reign of Charles II

[1] Alexandretta.

[2] Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, London, 1908, p. 139.

[3] Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

upwards of fifty English houses formed the "nation" under the British Consul, and inhabited the English "Factory" or Khan. . . . Cyprus rose into importance as a factory of the Company during the eighteenth century. Smyrna also belongs to the later period, and continues as the centre of the Levant trade of modern days. The consular district of Aleppo embraced various Vice-Consulates, not necessarily permanent, of which Cyprus (Larnaca) was perhaps one of the most important. . . .

'The Colony of Englishmen at Larnaca and Ormidhia[1] differed from the older Aleppo Factory in that it consisted of merchants living more a family life. The semi-collegiate "Khan," with its unmarried young men, was not known in Cyprus. . . .

'M. D'Arvieux (*Memoires*),[2] going out to Aleppo as the representative of the "Grand Monarque" in 1675, describes the seas of Cyprus as infested by Tripoli (Africa) and Majorcan corsairs. Whilst anchored in Larnaca Bay he was fêted by all the resident Europeans in the island with sumptuous feastings, and on his arrival and departure was honoured with the customary salvos of artillery. At this period Cyprus appears to have been colonized chiefly by merchants of the French Levant Company. . . .

[1] A village about eight miles east of Larnaca; during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the *villeggiatura* of the European merchants.

[2] Chevalier D'Arvieux, *Memoires contenant ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie*, &c., Paris, 1735.

'There is no mention in these *Memoires* of any English settlement in Cyprus at this period; we must therefore suppose that, although an English Vice-Consul was appointed at Larnaca from time to time during the seventeenth century, the English trade with Cyprus was comparatively insignificant. . . .

'In 1693[1] Van Bruyn,[2] a Dutchman, visited Larnaca and found all the European merchants there to be Frenchmen, but an Englishman came to settle during his stay. M. Baldassar Sovran, French Consul, was acting for the English nation. Mr. Deleau, whose tombstone remains at Larnaca,[3] was at this time just dead, and perhaps the newly arrived Englishman may have been Mr. Ion (or John) Ken, who must have died almost at the time of Van Bruyn's visit.

'The two Kens, relatives of the famous Bishop Ken, the Nonjuror, were doubtless brothers. Ion Ken, buried at Larnaca in 1693, was the son of Ion Ken, elder brother of the Bishop, and brother-in-law of Isaac Walton.'

Another Dutchman, Jan Heyman, visited Cyprus in the early eighteenth century, and has left us an interesting account of the English

[1] The date should be 1683.

[2] *Reisen door de vermaadste Deelen van Klein Asia, de Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus*, &c., Delft, 1698; English translation, 1702; and cf. *Excerpta*, pp. 236–44.

[3] For the epitaphs of the English merchants buried in the cemeteries of S. Lazarus and S. George, Larnaca, cf. *Excerpta*, pp. 475–9.

Consulate at Larnaca, and of its troubles with a company of merchants who had infringed the Levant Company's privileges.

'The English Consul's house here is the best on the whole island, though the outside of it is only of clay, but nothing can be more neat or elegantly ornamented than the inside. It has also the largest hall I saw in any part of the Levant; but, what is of much more importance, the English Consul is highly respected all over the island, as jointly with his company he advances money to the inhabitants, for getting in their several harvests, in which otherwise they would be at a great loss.

'In this both parties find their advantage, for the English do not advance their money under twenty per cent., and receive the interest in silk, wine, cotton, corn and other products of the country, on all which they set their own price; whence, without wronging those gentlemen, it may be supposed that thirty per cent. is the least they make of their money, and on failure of payment at the time appointed, they may immediately seize on the debtor's effects. The French are well aware of this lucrative manner of gaining the people's affections, and would be glad to supplant the English, but have not sufficient funds, most of them being only factors to merchants at Marseilles.

'Besides this company of the English, and that of the consul, another particular English company not long ago settled at Larnica, where they built

a very stately and beautiful house. But the Governor, animated by the people, who were continually murmuring and complaining that the house looked more like a fort than a private house, and that they did not know what bad designs might be on foot, ordered it to be pulled down to the very ground; which, as there was a manifest jealousy between the two houses, occasioned a surmise that the people had first been bribed by the Consul to make that uproar, and afterwards the Governor to comply with it. Each house, however, sent an agent to Constantinople, one to make its complaint, and another to justify itself; but by the prudence of the English Ambassador they were reconciled.'[1]

'One of the English merchants,' to return to Jeffery, 'of the early eighteenth century in Cyprus has left a few records behind him. A certain Mr. Treadway is referred to by several of the travellers of the period as a rich man who built the finest house in the Levant, at Larnaca, and many other houses on the road between Larnaca and Famagusta, eventually becoming a bankrupt in 1724. Mr. Treadway's house in Larnaca still exists, and is now the property of Mr. C. D. Cobham, a former Commissioner of Larnaca.[2] It possesses a very large room or hall, in which, it is said, a banquet was prepared for a large party of Mr. Treadway's friends and creditors in 1732, at the very hour when that gentleman was de-

[1] *Excerpta*, pp. 250–1.

[2] It now belongs to the Orthodox see of Kition.

camping from Cyprus in a Venetian ship. It is not recorded whether the guests much enjoyed the feast when they discovered the absence of the host under such circumstances. A letter in the Public Record Office referring to this matter is of interest in giving the names of a consul and merchants at Larnaca at that period:

'"CYPRUS, 10 *Jan.*, 1732/3.

'"To the Worshipfull Nevil Coxe Esqre., and Gentlemen of the British Nation of Aleppo.

'"GENTLEMEN,—The occasion off your Immediate Disturbance is to transmitt you minutes of an Assembly held 5th Inst. whereby You'll Please to observe Mr. Stiles Lupart is not Content Demitry Constantin Should act any longer as Druggerman and Cancellaria having given Mr. Treadway a Patent under a false Seal by which I apprehend its to say a forged one, for a Patent would be of no value or Service to Mr. Treadway iff not Signed by the Consul, besides he run away by a Venetian Ship under French Protection. So Consequently had no manner off one from the English. . . .

'"The Minutes are signed by the whole Court at Larnicha, 5 Jan., 1732/3.

'"WILLIAM PURNELL, Consul.
'"STILES LUPART.
'"GEORGE BARTON.
'"EDWARD LEE."

'Another letter seems to have been despatched about the same date to express the Consul's

private opinion in this matter. He says he would not "let a man serve the Nation near eight years after so base an Action, this man having served the Nation Inc^{a} 28 years and for my part never found him Guilty any dishonesty. My Predecessor Mr. Consul Barton gave him a very good Character."

'It will be noticed that the above documents appear to be the result of a commission of inquiry by a Mr. Purnell, acting as Consul in Cyprus. Presumably this Mr. "William" Purnell was a relation of the John Purnell who acted as Consul in Aleppo and Alexandretta between the years 1717 and (about) 1750. Mr. George Barton had evidently retired for a time from the Consulship of Cyprus, although he did not die until 1739.

'The next document in point of date preserved amongst the Aleppo papers relating to Cyprus, and signed by a British Consul there resident, is a certificate appointing a "Cancellier" to the Consulate in 1735–6, and signed:

'"We Stiles Lupart, Esq., Consul for His Majesty the King, &c. in this Island and Kingdom of Cyprus." . . .

'An interesting copy of the will of John Baldwin of Cyprus, dated April 1, 1771, exists amongst the Miscellaneous Correspondence at the Public Record Office. It is attested by William Bashley Turner, who styles himself:

"'Pro-Consul for his Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c., &c., Pro.-V.-Consul for their I.M.,[1]

[1] Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

for his Majesty the King of Denmark, for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and for their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in this Island and Kingdom of Cyprus."

'Seal of the British Chancery of Cyprus is attached. This Mr. W. B. Turner would presumably be the son or some relative of Mr. Timothy Turner, the Consul who seems to have died in 1768. . . .

'We have lost the most wonderful opportunity of hearing a vivid account of the Levant merchants and their Consuls through the failure of Oliver Goldsmith to obtain the post of doctor to the Factory at Aleppo in 1761; his place was supplied by Dr. Russell.'

A graphic description is given by Drummond of a visit paid by the English Consul and his party to the Pasha of Cyprus in the year 1745:

'Well then, our government is changed: and, in lieu of a mussalem, we are ruled by a pacha of three tails;[1] that is, of the highest rank next to the grand vizier, but he is provided with the same officers, though in a greater number; so that the country is now subject to a more powerful tyrant, and to him much greater honour is done than to a mussalem, to whom the consuls only send their annual presents; whereas, this vicegerent exacts their personal attendance at Nicosia.

[1] The Pasha in question was 'Abdu'llah, the predecessor of Abu Bekr; cf. Ch. I, p. 68.

Accordingly, Mr. Consul Wakeman set out from hence on the sixth of May, to perform this expensive, mean ceremony; which I think is unworthy of the crowns of Britain and of France.

'The Neapolitan and Ragusan Consuls made no attempt to appear magnificent in their retinue and equipage, but the French and Venetians made strong efforts for that purpose, though they excelled us in nothing but number and confusion: our little troop marched with a genteel decency, and every thing was conducted in an elegant manner. The greatest part of the country, until we arrived at the river Peroi, which is about eight miles from Nicosia, is extremely barren; we lodged very agreeably at a village called Margo, from whence we set out next morning, and went to a Greek convent, a little way from town. The pasha had sent his horses, very finely caparisoned à la Turquoise, to wait our coming; a very extraordinary compliment: these we mounted, and our little cavalcade began to move in this order: First, the *chawush qol-aghasi*, of the *ojaq*, or corps, of the janisaries; then the *muzur* of the *ojaq*, or corps, of the *sipahi*; these officers may be understood as majors, adjutants, and sometimes as agents for the respective corps; after them rode the consul's janisaries, the chancellor and first dragoman, Doctor Crutta, the first dragoman's son being a protégé, the dragoman of the seraglio, the consul, with his *choqadars* on each side of his horse; Mr. Boddington and your humble servant, together with Mr. Golightly, an English gentleman who was occasionally here,

and Mr. Gibson, who was followed by the servants in their different degrees.

'A little while after we halted at our lodgings, the consul sent to know if the Vazir pacha would please to give him audience: and the answer was, when it would be most convenient for the consul. We therefore set out for the palace, before dinner, in the order I have already described, and all of us dismounted at the gate, except the consul, who rode into the court of the seraglio, where ten or a dozen fine horses stood gorgeously caparisoned; indeed their furniture was incredibly extravagant. All the guards and officers of the palace were ranged in the court, stairs, passages, and apartments through which we passed to the presence-chamber, and all was silent and still. There we stood until the entrance of the pacha, who clapped the consul on the shoulder, as a mark of high favour and regard, desired him to sit, and several times bade him welcome: nobody sat but the pacha on his divan, and the consul on an elbow-chair of state: the pacha's not being in the room to receive him, and the consul's standing until the other entered, proceeds from this punctilio. A vazir, a mussalim, and even those of an inferior rank, think it is too great condescension in them to rise from their seats and salute an infidel; and, on the other hand, a consul will not go into the presence of any officer, whatever his distinction may be, unless he is received standing; so that this method was agreed upon as a salvo for the honour of both: and these preliminaries, with several

others, are always settled by the intercourse of the dragoman, before the consul goes to audience.

'After some commonplace speeches, and hollow assurances of friendship, which gold alone can realize, we were entertained with coffee, sweet-meats, and sherbet, and lastly, with perfumes, which always imply a licence to withdraw. When the consul rose to take his leave, he was presented by the vazir with a *kurk*, or robe lined with fur, which was put upon him by one of the officers.

'You may imagine this was a distinguishing mark of generosity, but I never heard of that virtue among the subjects of the Grand Signor; and this vestment had been dearly bought by the presents which the consul had made him in the morning. From the presence-chamber we retreated through the same range of officers, and were favoured with an audience of the *kiaya*, or prime minister, conducted in the same manner, though with this difference, the minister is not served upon the knee like his master; thence we returned to our lodgings, with the same order and parade.' [1]

Drummond himself became Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus in 1751, and it would appear that these Consulates remained united until the death of Consul Michael de Vezin at Larnaca in 1792. Larnaca was always, as we have seen, the residence of the principal English representative in the island, but we hear of the existence, as early as

[1] *Excerpta*, pp. 284–5.

1738, of a subordinate Vice-Consul at Limasol, Pococke [1] referring to him as being a Greek, but not giving his name. Sibthorp,[2] in 1787, also alludes to the presence there of a Vice-Consul, a Greek; and de Vezin writes that 'the English Consul has here (*sc.* Limasol) a Greek as Vice-Consul to give assistance to British ships calling here, and to see what is wanted in the town and neighbourhood.' [3] At Paphos a Cephalonian named Andrea Zimbulachi was established as British Agent in 1799 by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, principally in order to attend to the provisioning of British men-of-war. This gentleman was succeeded in 1826 by his son, whom he christened Smith in honour of his patron; and Smith Zimbulachi held the office until 1864.[4] At Famagusta, too, in the nineteenth century, there was a British Consular Agent, a Latin named Brunoni, who was nominated to that post by Antonio Vondiziano, apparently in the days of the Levant Company. The Levant Company, during its lifetime, not only paid but appointed all British Consuls and Consular Officers in Turkey [5]; moreover, until 1825 the seal used on official Consular documents bore, not the British, but the Company's arms.

The Abbé Mariti, who resided in Cyprus, as

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 252.

[2] Ibid., p. 329.

[3] Ibid., p. 371.

[4] Concerning this gentleman, cf. *Eothen*, ch. 7.

[5] The Ambassador to Turkey and his staff were paid by the Company until 1803.

an official of the Imperial and Tuscan Consulates, from 1760 to 1767, has left us the following account of the English Consulate in the Island :

'Mr. Timothy Turner, the English Consul, died in 1768, while I was writing this work. He was an officer of the Levant Company, but held a commission from his Britannic Majesty. Under commissions from their several Embassies at Constantinople he acted as vice-consul for the Empire, Tuscany, Denmark and Holland. The authority of the English consul is not so large as that of his French colleague. He can inflict trifling punishments, but he cannot at once banish his protégés, except when some very grave crime would injure the repute of his nation in the eyes of the local government, or when he knows that one of his subjects is about to embrace the Mohammedan faith. In these cases he can examine the matter, and put the accused under restraint until an opportunity comes of sending him back to Europe. The English consulate has an English Chancellor, approved by the Levant Company, as well as a Tuscan Chancellor, approved by the Imperial Internuncio at Constantinople, who is at the service of the Imperial and Tuscan subjects, while Dutchmen and Danes avail themselves of the help of the English Chancellor. The English dragoman is paid by the Levant Company, but receives from the consul further remuneration for his services to the other consular protégés.'[1]

[1] *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro*, vol. i, ch. 22.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century only one English merchant remained in Cyprus; and he, according to Light, 'had to contend with the united phalanx of Levantines, who had no inclination to admit a competitor in trade. An Englishman wishing to settle there will be exposed to much opposition, and will only succeed by having large funds to meet every exigency to which he is liable. Much of the trade is contraband, particularly corn: and it is necessary to keep on good terms with the aga and officers employed at the custom-house by presents, the best and only means of ensuring favour in any competition with Levantines.'[1]

The solitary Englishman alluded to by Light was probably the Mr. How who is referred to by Turner. 'William Turner in 1815,' says Jeffery, 'found an Englishman named How living at Larnaca with a native wife, who was, perhaps, the last survivor of the community, and who seems to have shown the English graveyard of S. Lazarus to the rare English visitors, and discoursed about former times, doubtless in the garrulous manner of such stranded survivors all the world over. According to this individual, the English Factory in Cyprus had consisted of fifteen or sixteen houses, which would have made an important community. "When Cyprus was yet considerable in the hands of the Turks, and an English Factory resided here, Ormidhia was their favourite village, where they had their villas."'

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 420.

The Levant Company came to an end in 1825, not so much on account of any shortcomings in its administration, as because the growing complexity of Turkey's relations with the Great Powers rendered it desirable for the British representatives in the Ottoman Empire to be directly responsible to the Government. The Company's announcement to its Agent and Vice-Consul in Cyprus of the transfer of its authority to the Crown, and Mr. Canning's instructions to the Consuls in the Levant, will be found in Chapter III.

I will conclude this chapter with three quotations referring to the consulages payable in respect of Cyprus to the Levant Company and its officers. The first is extracted from the manuscript register of the British Consulate in Egypt for the years 1708 to 1742, a volume which in some unexplained manner has found its way into the archives of the Consulate of Cyprus :

'At a General Court of the Levant Company held at Salters hall on fryday the 12th of September, 1729,

'A State of the Companys affaires in Turky was now read, and taken into consideration, And in order to prevent the Company running into debt, and paying a high interest, It is Resolved, and Ordered

'That a Consulage Extraordinary of two Pr. Cent (over and above what is now paid) be levyed upon all Goods exported from Turky and Egypt for the port of London, and that the same be

paid at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Cairo, Cyprus, Tripoly di Soria, and all other places in Turky within sixty days after the departure of any Ship or Ships from the respective ports aforesaid for the Companys sole use and benefit. And this order is to commence and take place on its arrivall at the severall places aforesaid.

'And the Lord Ambassador at Constantinople is desired and the respective Consuls at Smyrna, Aleppo, Cyprus and Cairo, or any other Consuls, or Vice Consuls at any part in Turky, are required to see this Order duely comply'd with.

'WM. DUNSTER, Dep. Govr.,
and fifteen other signatures.'

The Levant Company's Orders and By-Laws, published in 1800,[1] contain the following article:

'No. lxxxix

'That the consuls at Cyprus, Tripoly, Latachia, and Salonica, may appropriate to their own use two *per cent.* on all goods laden from any place in His Majesty's dominions; and the consulage exceeding two *per cent.* together with all consulages on imports, are to be remitted to the Company's treasurer at Constantinople.'

The third quotation is from Turner[2]:

'The transit commerce of Cyprus is considerable, owing to the numerous vessels that come

[1] *The Levant Company's Orders and By-Laws*, printed at the Philanthropic Reform, St. George's Fields, 1800.

[2] *Excerpta*, p. 448.

from other ports of the Levant, and from Malta. But this is only within a few years: Signor Vondiziano tells me that the average of the consular duties in Larnaca for the last four years has been 30,000 piastres, of which he takes two-sevenths, according to the rules of the Levant Company, to which he sends the rest.'

CHAPTER III

THE CONSULAR ARCHIVES, 1710–1878 [1]

The earliest documents belonging to the archives of the British Consulate in Cyprus are three Imperial Firmans of the middle of the eighteenth century, which will be quoted below. There are, however, sundry references to Cyprus, of earlier dates, in the register of the Consulate of Egypt referred to in the previous chapter. The following is an example :

'Wee Wm. Farrington Consull for her Majestie of Great Brittaine, France & Ireland, &c., in Cairo & all ye Kingdom of Egypt, &c., Do by these Presents recommend ye bearer hereof Simon wth his Companion Sergius, Greek Priests belonging to ye Convent of Santa Catarina on Mount Sinai, & bound from Alexandria for Cyprus, to ye Courtesy of all Commanders or others of ships of her Britannick Majesty or of those in Alliance wth her, & all Fav[r] & Assistance that shall be showed them will on all Occasions gratefully be acknowledged.

'Cairo, ye 28th *Aprill*, 1710.'

[1] The letter T, G, or I prefixed to translations of documents indicate that the originals are in Turkish, Greek, or Italian.

The two priests in question were presumably visiting Cyprus in order to inspect the *metochia* (monastic dependencies), which the monastery of S. Katharine of Mt. Sinai possessed, and still possesses, in the Island.

The first of the Firmans is a Berat confirming the appointment of George Barton as English Consul in Cyprus; it is a prototype of what would now be called an Exequatur, and is the only document of its kind among the archives (T):

'To their Eminences the Naib of the Qaza of Lefqosha [Nicosia], a model of Naibs learned in the Canon Law (may his learning increase!) and the Muhassil of Cyprus, a model of illustrious nobles (may his grandeur increase!):

'Be it known on the arrival of this exalted Imperial Cypher that the Ambassador of England residing at my Threshold of Felicity [*sc.* Constantinople], the pride of the Commanders of Christendom (may his end be fortunate! [1]), having submitted a petition to my Court of Felicity praying for the issue of my sacred Order to make it known that, the noble Stiles Lupart—by virtue of my sacred Berat Consul for England in the Island of Cyprus—having been removed from the consulship, the noble George Barton, of the nobility of England, a model of the notables of Christendom, has been constituted and appointed as Consul in his place; and that my sacred Berat has been given into his hand as usual according to the *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun* [2]; and that he is

[1] i.e. may he die a Moslem. [2] The Capitulations.

enabled to assume the said consulship and to be protected and defended in accordance with my sacred Berat, and not to be interfered with by another, contrary to the Berat,

'This my Firman, high in glory, has now been issued in order that the consulship may be assumed in accordance with the Berat; and I decree that, on the arrival of this my sacred Order, you will act according to my Command issued in this respect; also that you will cause the consulship to be taken possession of by George Barton in accordance with my sacred Berat given in the usual manner pursuant to the *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun* in the manner written above, not suffering another to interfere in opposition to the *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun* and contrary to the Berat; and you will act in conformity with the tenor of my sacred Order. Thus you will know it, respecting the sacred Cypher.

'Written in the middle of Sha'ban in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-one [November, 1738].'

The two Berats which follow are of particular interest as giving detailed information regarding the privileges accorded to Consular employés and the various forms of taxation in force in the Turkey of the eighteenth century (T):

'The requirement of this sacred Royal Berat, high in glory and lofty in estimation, and resplendent world-conquering Imperial Tughra[1] is that:

[1] The Imperial Cypher or ornamental monogram, consisting of a conventionalized reproduction of the lines of the hand

'Baron de Penklern, an example of the leading men of Christendom (may his latter days end with good!), who is Ambassador resident at my Threshold of glory on the part of the Emperor of Rome,[1] having sent a sealed petition to my Court of glory and requested the favour of the grant of my sacred Berat, as is the practice according to my *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun*, for Androniko Gerolamo, bearer [2] of this Royal Cypher high in glory, who, being dragoman with the Consul named Wakeman, Consul for England in the island of Cyprus and acting Consul for the said Emperor of Rome, has been constituted and appointed dragoman in the place of Solomon, son of Malachia, who was formerly dragoman with the *Qapu-kiehayasi* [3] for Austria and has perished;[4]

'I have granted this Imperial Cypher and have decreed that the said Androniko Gerolamo be such dragoman; that those serving as dragoman and their sons and their servants and their *jariehs* [5] be not vexed and frightened by a demand of

(Murad I's according to some authorities, according to others Mohammed the Conqueror's) combined with the name and title of the Sultan, and constituting a sort of Great Seal of the Ottoman Empire.

[1] Holy Roman Emperor.

[2] Lit. exalter.

[3] Official agent of a foreign Power for transacting business with the Ottoman Government; cf. p 34, n.

[4] In Turkish *mürd oldu*, a contemptuous phrase only applied to Christians, and corresponding more or less to the French word *crever*.

[5] Female slaves; concubines.

kharaj [1] or *avariz* [2] or *qasab-aqchesi* [3] or *rusum-i-esari* [4] or other extra-canonical impositions; that no one vex him by a demand of *kharaj* or *rusum* or *baj* [5] by saying " thou art reported to be employing a *qul* [6] or *jarieh* "; that no one vex him by interfering with his certified gifts,[7] or the usual garments worn by him or his furniture or his eatables and drinkables, but that he be exempted as from of old; that no customs duties or *baj* be demanded from him; that he be not vexed by men of the military being billeted in his houses; that the receiver of wine duties or *voyvodas* [8] or others make no demands of *fuchi-aqchesi*,[9] as is usual, for the produce of his own vineyard; but that he and his children and the *jariehs* found in his possession be exempted and delivered from *kharaj* and *qasab-aqchesi* and *resm-i-masdarie*,[10] and from all the extra-canonical impositions; that whosoever may have a lawsuit with him be referred to my Court of glory in accordance with the *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun*, and that the suit be heard in no other place; that when, at any time, he may wish to travel anywhere,

[1] Poll tax paid by non-Moslems.

[2] Extraordinary levies.

[3] Lit. butcher's money; a kind of sheep tax.

[4] Slave tax.

[5] Transit duty.

[6] Male slave.

[7] Presents or *bakhshish* officially recognized or countenanced.

[8] Custom officers.

[9] Lit. barrel-money, a former wine-duty.

[10] A duty formerly levied on exports, also on newly pressed grape-juice.

no one from among the *olaq* [1] or other persons interfere or wrongfully meddle with him or his chattels and cattle, his possessions and provisions, or with the persons accompanying him at the landing and halting places on his outward and return journey by land or sea; that wheresoever he alights, his provisions, supplies, and stock of grain be given to him on payment at the current market prices of the day, and that no one seek pretexts of quarrel with him; that in places where danger is to be apprehended, he may put a white turban on his head, neither the Qadis nor any from among the *Beyler-beyis* [2] or others vexing him when he bears a sword or bow and arrow or other weapon, but that he be protected and sheltered as from of old; that those guilty of any aggression or excess be prevented and repressed; and that the exalted tenor of this my Royal Cypher be always acted upon, no consent or sufferance being shown to the contrary. Thus will they know it, and place reliance on the sacred sign.

'Written on the first day of the sacred month of Zi'lqa'dé in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-two [October, 1749].'

'To the Qadis and Naibs on land and sea from my Threshold of Felicity as far as Cyprus, the pride of Qadis and Naibs, mines of excellent virtues and speech (may their virtues increase!), and to the Commanders of the Janissaries, har-

[1] Messenger or courier.

[2] The old title of Governors of provinces.

bourmasters, receivers of poll tax and other officers, the pride of their peers (may they rise in rank !),

'On the receipt of this exalted rescript, be it known that James Porter (may his end be fortunate !), the leader of Commanders of Christian nations, British Ambassador residing in my Capital, has presented a sealed petition to my Court, wherein he states that Christofaki Christodoulou in the service of the English Consul now by virtue of my sacred Berat residing in the island of Cyprus, who had come to my Threshold on business, has now settled his affairs and intends to return to the said Consul, and wherein he requests my Imperial Order to the effect that when the said Christofaki, in the course of his journey from my capital to the above named island, enters any region under your respective jurisdictions, or remains at halting or landing places, passages, or seaports, and during his stay in the said island, he may not for a moment be molested, and that his passage may not be hampered in contravention of my Imperial *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun* by his being required to pay *kharaj* to receivers of such tribute, or on any other pretext by anyone else, but that he be protected and defended ;

'And on finding, by reference to the records kept in the Imperial Chancery of State, that George Wakeman is now, by virtue of my Imperial sacred Berat, the English Consul in the island of Cyprus, and as it has been recorded that under the conditions of the said Berat no servants of the Consul shall be molested by the levy of any

kharaj, *avariz*, *qasab-aqchesi*, or other charges or extra-canonical impositions,

'I hereby command that this be enacted in accordance with the said *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun*, and that on receipt of this my sacred decree you shall rely upon my sacred Cypher and act in accordance with this my illustrious Firman issued to that effect, namely that the said person in the service of the said Consul, when entering any region within your respective jurisdictions, or remaining at any halting or landing places, passages, or seaports, and during his stay in the said island, shall not be molested, nor shall his passage be hindered for a moment in contravention of the said Imperial *Akhdnamé-i-Humayun* by his being required to pay *kharaj* to receivers of such tribute, or on any other pretext by anyone else, but that he shall be protected and defended.

'Written at Constantinople on the first day of the month of Sha'ban in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-six [June, 1753].'

It will be convenient to interpolate here, although out of chronological order, the translation of a Firman, which is preserved among the archives of the Armenian Church in Nicosia (T):

'To His Eminence the Naib of the Qaza of Nicosia in the island of Cyprus, an example of Naibs learned in the canon law (may his learning increase!),

'Be it known on the arrival of this exalted Royal Cypher that Spencer Smith, an example

of the leading personages of Christendom (may his latter days end with good !), who is Ambassador for England residing at my Threshold of Felicity, has sent a sealed petition to my Court of Felicity, requesting that whereas Serkis son of Avaq is by virtue of a Berat high in glory dragoman in the service of the Consul for England residing in the island of Cyprus, and it being a condition of the Berat that those serving as dragoman and their sons and such two of their servants as are provided with an *emr-i-sherif*[1] should not be vexed by demands of *kharaj* and *avariz* and *qasab-aqchesi* and other extra-canonical impositions, my *emr-i-sherif* may issue an order that the one of the servants of the said dragoman named Simeon son of Yeremia may not be suffered to be oppressed by a demand of *jizieh*[2] or by other methods contrary to the terms of the Berat ;

'And on reference made to the records of documents issued under the Royal Cypher kept at my Imperial Chancery it being found written and recorded that by virtue of my sacred Berat given on the third day of Jemazi-ul-Akhir of the year one thousand two hundred and thirteen [1798] the said Serkis son of Avaq is dragoman in the service of the Consul for England residing in the island of Cyprus, and that it is a condition of the Berat that those serving as dragoman and their sons and such two of their servants as are

[1] Rescript ; lit. sacred order.

[2] A capitation tax, replaced in 1856 by the *bedl-i-askeri* or military exemption tax.

provided with an *emr-i-sherif* may not be vexed by the imposition of *kharaj* and *avariz* and *qasab-aqchesi*, and other duties and extra-canonical impositions ;

'My Firman high in glory has been issued in order that action may be taken as aforesaid with the condition of residence not being taken up elsewhere whilst in the service of the said dragoman. I decree that when my *emr-i-sherif* arrives, action shall be taken pursuant to my Order issued in this respect, and that the said Simeon son of Yeremia, of the two servants of the said dragoman, shall not be suffered to be oppressed by a demand of *jizieh* or by other methods contrary to the terms of the Berat, subject to his not residing elsewhere whilst in the service of the said dragoman, but shall be protected and defended according to the terms of the Berat, and that you will act in compliance with my *emr-i-sherif*. Thus will you know it, respecting the sacred sign.

'Written in the first third of the month of Jemazi-ul-Akhir in the year one thousand two hundred and thirteen [November, 1798].'

Among the few other documents of the eighteenth century preserved in the archives are scarcely any of importance. The following extract, however, from the 'Inventory of the Wearing Apparell, Books and Effects of the late Timothy Turner Esqre of Cyprus,[1] taken the 8th Sept., 1768, by John Baldwin of Cyprus[2]

[1] Vice-Consul in Cyprus, 1763–1768.

[2] Vice-Consul in Cyprus, 1776–1781.

in the presence of J.B.R., Chancellor, and Anastasis Speltos, Druggerman,' is sufficiently curious to be worth quoting:

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pair of Breeches Blue Cloth lac'd with broad Gold Laced, little worn.

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pr. of Breeches, Cinnamon coloured, fine Cloth & gold Lac'd, much worn.

'1 Coat & a Pair of Breeches of Scarlet Cloth, Gold lac'd, much worn.

'1 Coat black French Cloth.

'1 Coat, 2 Waistcoats & 2 pr. Breeches of black Velvet, half worn out.

'1 Coat & 1 Pr. Breeches of flower'd cut Velvet of a Wine Colour, much worn.

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pair of Breeches of Cinnamon coloured silk & broad silver Lac'd, new.

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pair of Breeches of Blue Angora Camblet & silver Lac'd, little worn.

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pr. Breeches of Coffee Colour'd Angora Shawl with Silver Lace, little worn.

'1 Coat, Waistcoat & 2 pr. Breeches of silk flower'd green mixed wth. yellow.

'1 White Sattin broad Gold Lac'd Waistcoat, worn.

'1 White Sattin embroider'd Silver Do., Do.

'1 Brocade Gold & Silver flower'd Do., much worn.

‘ 1 Pr. Crimson Velvet ‘ 1 Pr. flower’d red Silk ‘ 2 Pr. black Padua Do. ‘ 2 Pr. Shalloon black Do. ‘ 2 Pr. Do. Coffee Colour Do. ‘ 1 Pr. Leather.’	9 Pr. Breeches.

Michael de Vezin, whose notes on Cyprus have been quoted in a previous chapter, died in 1792, after holding, according to the evidence of his tombstone at Larnaca, the office of His Britannic Majesty’s Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus for sixteen years. In 1784 de Vezin proceeded to Europe on leave, and on his return received the following letter from the Levant Company :

‘ London,
‘ *29th November*, 1785.

‘ Consul De Vezin at Cypruss,
‘ We flatter ourselves this Letter will find you safely arrived at Cypruss and in good Health after your Voyage.

‘ Since our last Letter of the 31st August 1784 we have not had any thing material to communicate to your Scala, but inclosed you will receive our Order of the 29th April respecting the Consulage on Goods exported from Turkey to perform Quarantine at Malta, &c., and to be reshipped on board the same ship for Great Britain which you will deposit in the Cancelleria.

‘ Having paid you your Salary for two years to the 5th Novr. instant in London only the Drugoman’s Salary & Miss Crutta’s pension for

two years remain due to you and we now give you a Liberty to draw on Mr. Henry Humphrys our Treasurer at Constantinople for the sum of One thousand Dollars to be accounted for by you of which we shall advise Mr. Humphrys by this Conveyance.

'We think it proper to acquaint you for your government that at a General Court held on the 15th Instant the consideration of the Report of our Court of Assistants respecting a paper presented by you relative to the state of the Trade to Cypruss was postponed *sine Die* and consequently no alteration has taken place in our Orders respecting the Importation of Coin or Bullion nor with regard to Bills of Exchange.

'By the London, Capn. Neil, we shall send you a small Flag and a Boat Flag according to your Request.

'Herewith you will receive a List of the Gentlemen who have been admitted to the Freedom of our Company since our Letter of the 31st August 1784 which is to be registered in the Cancelleria.

'We remain,

'Your sincere Friends,

'The Governor and Company of Merchants of England, trading into the Levant Seas.

'S. Bosanquet, Dep. Govr.'

and twelve other signatures.

(Then follow the names of twenty gentlemen admitted to the Freedom of the Company.)

In 1799 the Chancellor of the Cyprus Consulate, a Cephalonian named Antonio Vondiziano, was appointed Vice-Consul; and the next document of any note is a despatch addressed by him to the Embassy in Constantinople, wherein allusion is made to the movements of British ships consequent upon Bonaparte's operations in Egypt. The letter derives additional interest from a reference to Nelson:

'Larnaca en Chypres,
'*ce* 26 *Novembre*, 1799.

'Excellence,

'J'ai eû l'honneur de vous écrire le 6, 11, et 18 du courant[1] par Nicosie, celle ci également voie de terre que je recommande au Sieur Serkis, Berataire Anglais[2] à Nicosie, pour vous dire, Excellence, que le transport Anglais, Valiant, No. 19, Capitaine William Willis, mentionné dans ma d^re^ très humble du 18, vient de Messine, expedié par l'admiral Nelson, avec de depêches pour mr. le commodore,[3] et quantité de provisions consistants en viande salée de Boeuf, de porc, legumes, farine, vinaigre, et de munitions de guerre. Ce transport est monté de dix neuf personnes d'équipage, six gros canons et six petits. Les depêches pour mr. le commodore ont été expediées le même instant de son arrivée, par le Brick le Caméleon, Capitaine Kint.

[1] No record of these letters survives in the archives.

[2] A British protected subject, i.e. the holder of a *berat* entitling him to Consular protection. For a description of the *beratlis* cf. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro*, vol. i, ch. 23.

[3] *sc.* Sir Sidney Smith.

'Le Theseus, vaisseau de sa Majesté, Capitaine John Stiles, se fit voir en cette rade le 22 de ce mois. Ce vaisseau qui étoit en station devant Alexandrie depuis deux mois, vient faire ses provisions ici, lui ayant manqué l'eau, vin, pain, et viande fraiche. Je travaille maintenant à lui fournir tout le nécéssaire. Le Caméleon trouvant de vents contraires à sa traversée vers Jaffa, regagna cette rade le même jour du 22, il remit à la voile quelques heures après. Le Capitaine Stiles du Thesée m'a assuré que mr. le chevalier seroit ici bientôt.

'Bonaparte abandonna ses conquêtes en Egypte. Son départ est confirmé de tout côtés. [On dit] même qu'il soit arrivé en Corse.

'Le grand Vesir, dit-on, traite la paix avec les français d'Egypte.

'Je suis en grande hâte très respectueusement de votre Excellence

'le très humble, très obéissant
'et très soumis, et devoué serviteur
'ANTOINE VONDIZIANO.

'A Son Excellence,
'Mr. Spencer Smith,
'Ministre Plenipotenciaire de sa Majesté Britannique,
'Constantinople.'

I owe to the kindness of Mr. G. Jeffery the following extract[1] from a letter written by Martin

[1] From *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late Lieut.-Colonel William Martin Leake, D.C.L., F.R.S.*, London: Printed by Whittingham & Wilkins, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane; for private circulation only; 1864.

Leake, the historian, to his father from Larnaca, during Sir Sidney Smith's presence at that port :

'Larnaca, Cyprus,
'*February* 17, 1800.

'An express dispatch by Sir Sydney Smith affords me a very little time, only to acquaint you with my proceedings since writing last. . . . We arrived at Kelndr[1] on the 8th of February. On the 10th we passed the channel in a little Polacre schooner, and arrived at Cerina [Kyrenia], on the North side of the island on the morning of the 11th. We crossed the island through Lifcosia, and arrived at this port on the 14th.

'We have had sometimes considerable fatigue on the road and always very hard fare ; but on the whole, our journey has been very curious and delightful. We have been favoured with a continuation of fine weather, such as is seldom seen in England in the middle of the summer ; and which only inconvenienced us by the heat. We have not been interrupted by a single wet day. I have kept an accurate journal, which I mean to continue, but I have not time to copy it by this opportunity.

'We found the *Tigre* and the *Theseus*, with the rest of Sir Sydney Smith's squadron of gunboats and other small vessels, at anchor here in the road, which is considered the best in the island; and the town is consequently the residence of the Consuls of different nations. We lodged in the house of our own Consul.

[1] Kelendria, on the Karamanian Coast.

'Before this letter arrives you will probably have heard of the treaty concluded by the mediation of Sir Sydney Smith.'[1]

The connexion of Sir Sidney Smith with Cyprus gave rise to episodes very typical of his romantic and somewhat vainglorious and fantastic nature. An elder brother of Spencer Smith, the British Ambassador in Constantinople alluded to above,[2] Sir Sidney was despatched at the end of 1798 to the eastern Mediterranean in command of the *Tigre*, being at the same time entrusted with a Commission from the Foreign Office, appointing him a joint Plenipotentiary with his brother the Ambassador. Sir Sidney's defence of S. Jean d'Acre in May, 1799, is historic; but little known are his intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus in November of the same year, and the strange conclusions which he subsequently drew from an incident that occurred at his meeting with the Archbishop of Cyprus, Chrysanthos, in Nicosia. The story is best given in Sir Sidney's own words, taken from a letter written by him some years afterwards to Bishop Luscombe, English chaplain in Paris, where Sir Sidney then resided[3]:

[1] The terms agreed to by Sidney Smith were disavowed by the British Government.

[2] cf. pp. 112, 114.

[3] The letter is quoted in the *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Wm. Sidney Smith, G.C.B.*, by John Barrow, F.R.S., London, 1848. See also *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. xxx, Part I, 1917.

'In the exercise of my duty, representing the King in his dignity, as his minister plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, and being decorated by Sultan Selim with his imperial aigrette, and with a commission to command his forces by sea and land, on the coast of Syria and Egypt, consequently representing that sovereign in his authority, in the absence of the grand vizier, his highness being the one to exert it when present, and as the Capitan Pasha was expressly put personally under my orders, I thought it my duty to land at Cyprus, for the purpose of restoring subordination and the hierarchy of authority, on a sudden emergency, which arose from the bursting out of an insurrection of janissaries, Arnauts and Albanians, in the year 1799, after the raising of the siege of Acre. The insurgents having murdered their local immediate chief in the island, the Greek population was at their mercy, and under dismay and terror. I landed on the instant, and exercising the delegated authority of Sultan Selim, as if he had been there in person, and wearing his imperial aigrette or plume of triumph, I restored order by re-establishing the hierarchy of authority and causing the disbanded troops to go down to the beach, like sly slinking wolves, foiled in their bloodthirsty career, and then to embark, leaving the island tranquil and free from the previous apprehension of plunder and massacre.

'On visiting the venerable Greek Archbishop afterwards at the capital, to prevent him from disgracing himself by a visit to me, which I

understood was his intention, his grace met me outside the city gates. I of course dismounted to receive his welcome and animated harangue, at the termination of which he embraced me paternally, and at the same moment adroitly threw the Templar's Cross, which he wore as an episcopal decoration on his breast, around the neck of his English guest saying, "This belonged to an Englishman formerly, and I now restore it. It belonged to Saint Richard, *Agio Richardo*, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, who left it in this Church at his departure, and it has been preserved in our treasury ever since; eighteen archbishops, my predecessors, have signed to the receipt thereof, in succession. I now make it over to you in token of our gratitude for saving all our lives—the Archbishops, ecclesiastics, laymen, citizens, and peasantry." With other complimentary expressions, I found myself thus in the consideration of the Greek population, invested with ecclesiastical authority, which also the Turkish authorities, and comparatively minor Mahomedan population, respected as such; and I was thus enabled to quell a Greek insurrection by my good offices between the conflicting parties, disarming the Greek insurgents, and sending them home with their grievances redressed.

'You are aware that the Grand Master of the Knights Templars was at Cyprus when he received the mandate of the King of France, Philip the Fair, and the contemporary pope to go to Paris, and justify himself and the order against the foul charges of two apostate Knights, suborned

by those who speculated on their spoils from confiscation. The grand master never returned, but was burnt near the Pont Neuf, with other Knights, then falsely accused and unjustly dealt by. You may not be aware that the surviving Knights, justly despising the impotent bull which pretended to abolish an order, not created by, and wholly independent of, the papal authority, the forced terms of which bull "suspends in perpetuo," admitted the impossibility of abolition and extinction, and forthwith, that a new grand master was elected in secret, and has continued to maintain the order in due form and consistence ever since.

'Thus it has not ceased to exist; and the Grand Master and his Council recognizing me as a new Knight Templar elect, duly received me, and voting me to be qualified by the above antecedents, recorded me as Grand Prior of England, an authority which Richard I exercised after he had become the purchaser of the land of the Order in Cyprus. I have ceded this dignity to a most illustrious and a more worthy personage (nevertheless I do not thereby cease to belong to the Order, having received a higher dignity therein)—and it is unquestionably a holy order, considering its origin and attributes among the primitive Christians; and considering that I did not understand the whole of the Greek Archbishop's speech, at the moment of the investiture, I may have been ordained without being quite aware of it; and if so, or under the doubt in my mind, which suddenly arises by learning that the

Grand Prior of Portugal is a candidate for church preferment, which proves him to be an ecclesiastic; I hesitate to take the oath as tendered to me (to enable me to receive my half pay) in its precise form, requiring me to assert that I am not in holy orders; my appeal to your Lordship is to have my mind satisfied on the historically recorded quality of the Knights Templars in England, previous (probably) to my taking the said required oath.'

We may safely assume that the Archbishop's action, in giving Sidney Smith what was presumably his pectoral cross, was intended simply as an act of courtesy, wholly devoid of the esoteric significance which the latter subsequently professed to discover in it. It may be remarked that the Commodore's political interferences in Turkey were by no means to the taste of his own Government. Indeed, Lord Elgin, who succeeded Spencer Smith as Ambassador to the Porte, goes so far as to say, in a letter written to Lord Nelson on January 15, 1800, that Sidney Smith 'has assumed the character of Minister Plenipotentiary, grounded upon his having had that nomination to enable him to sign, with his brother, a treaty here last winter: he continues this title without confirmation, instructions, or powers from home. And he has exerted it upon different occasions to exercise police in Cyprus and elsewhere; a fact literally without precedent in diplomatic history. This has brought upon our arms the utmost ill-will; it serves as an

apology for backwardness in the Turks, and has given occasion to most unpleasant scenes in the Seraglio, where we have of necessity enemies to our alliance.'

Sidney Smith, who became full Admiral in 1821 and a G.C.B. in 1838, died in 1840 at the age of seventy-five.

We must now turn our attention once again to the Orthodox hierarchy of Cyprus, and to the reaction against their ascendancy, which was referred to at the end of Chapter I. Louis Lacroix, in his *Iles de la Grèce*,[1] well describes the state of Turkish popular feeling, which led to the outbreaks of 1804 and 1821 :

'The Greek clergy had preserved in Cyprus an influence which was only impaired by the serious troubles which, at the beginning of this century, affected all the countries inhabited by people of Hellenic race. The Archbishop of Nicosia, who had the title of *ri'aya-vekili*, as representing the Christian subjects of the Porte, had annexed pretty well the whole administrative authority, and not only had made himself independent of the *Muhassils*, but generally determined on their appointment and recall. From his palace the Archbishop administered the whole island, filled up the offices in every district, assessed the amount of the annual contributions, sent the sums for which the island was farmed out to the Grand Vezir, or the Imperial Treasury. Certain privileges, purposely granted, attached

[1] cf. Appendix I.

the Turkish Aghas to the support of his authority, and all the inhabitants, Turks and Greeks alike, looked upon him as the real Governor, and grew accustomed to take no notice of the *Muhassil*. The supreme power of the Archbishops of Nicosia reached its height during the reigns of Selim III and Mustafa IV, the immediate predecessors of Sultan Mahmud II, and was unshaken until the beginning of the nineteenth century, in 1804, saw an insurrectionary movement of the Turks, the prelude of the bloody catastrophe which was to extinguish it. The Turks settled in Cyprus were deeply hurt at seeing themselves fallen under the rule of men whom of old they had conquered. The Turkish population of Nicosia and the adjoining villages, stirred by a rumour, true or false, of an insufficiency in the foodstuffs necessary for the victualling of the island, rose against the ecclesiastical authority, in whose hands all power rested, and for a while was master of the capital. The arrival of two Pashas from Asia Minor with a fair show of troops, the intervention, which always had its weight, of the Consuls of France, England and Russia, MM. Regnault, Peristiani, and Calimeri,[1] stilled this passing ferment, and things appeared to resume their accustomed course. But the intrigues of the chief Turks against the Greek headmen did not sleep, and ended in 1821 in a bloody *coup d'état*, which put an end to the administration of the *Muhassils*, overturned

[1] The names of the Consuls are erroneously given. They should be, in the order named, MM Méchain, Vondiziano, and Peristiani.

the authority of the Greek clergy, and restored the government of the Pashas.'[1]

As Lacroix rightly observes, the rising of 1804 was itself not serious; it was merely the prelude to the events of 1821. No contemporary correspondence as to the occurrence survives among the archives, but a private letter, dated August, 1809, from Vondiziano to his friend Bartolommeo Pisani, First Interpreter to the British Embassy in Constantinople, throws some interesting light on its results:

'Worthy Sir and Dear Friend, (I)

'... Owing to the necessities of the country on the occasion of the rising of the Turks in 1804, the Greek Bishops had recourse for considerable loans to the Consuls, all of whom came to their assistance, lending to them against notes of hand, wherein the Bishops undertook to repay within a short time. They have hitherto, however, been unable to meet their obligations; and I myself am unfortunately a creditor to the extent of 40,000 piastres.[2] ... The Bishops do not know how to find the money; and as if Cyprus were not in a sufficiently critical condition, it has the additional misfortune of seeing beside the Governor as Kiehaya a certain Cypriote

[1] *Excerpta*, pp. 463–4.

[2] An Imperial Firman of June 16, 1812, orders the repayment to Vondiziano of three-quarters of this sum from public funds, the Bishops having expended 30,000 piastres in chartering the vessels which brought the troops from Asia Minor to Cyprus to suppress the disturbances.

named Ali Effendi. . . . This bandit has succeeded in obtaining complete ascendancy over the mind of the Governor, and in league with the other officials commits daily iniquities, unjustly fleecing the wretched population on the most frivolous pretexts. Moreover, he has established a sort of monopoly on foodstuffs, forcibly taking the unhappy peasants' wheat and barley at contemptible prices,[1] and in false measure, with no consideration for the debtors of the Europeans. Notwithstanding our complaints at these unworthy proceedings, the vexations continue. . . . The poor Bishops, who are troubled beyond measure at such tyranny on the part of the Kiehaya Bey, have approached me in all secrecy, adjuring me in the Lord's Name to secure your aid in this matter, so that it may result in the deposition and exile from Cyprus of the aforesaid Ali Effendi, Kiehaya Bey of our Governor. . . .'

We may justly doubt if the poverty of the Bishops was as great as this letter would imply. Vondiziano wrote, no doubt, in absolute good faith; but the following quotation from Ali Bey, whose visit to Cyprus took place less than two years after the rising, suggests that the Bishops gave to their creditors an exaggerated impression of their financial straits:

'The Greeks are extremely submissive and respectful towards their bishops: in saluting them they bow low, take off their cap, and hold

[1] cf. p. 83.

it before them upside down. They scarcely dare speak in their presence. It is true that for this community of slaves the bishops are rallying points. It is through them that it preserves some kind of existence, so that it suits the people to give their prelates political importance, such as even the Turks allow them, judging by the deferential and respectful manner which they observe towards the bishops. These, on their part, parade in their houses and followers a princely luxury; they never go out without a crowd of attendants, and to ascend a flight of stairs they must needs be carried by their servants.' [1]

It will probably be convenient at this point to interrupt the chronological sequence of the archives in order to complete, with an account of the events of 1821, the story of the supremacy of the Archbishops. The disturbance of 1804 had but served to fan the flame of Turkish discontent; and the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence gave the Qapitan Pasha the desired opportunity to reassert his authority. Of various descriptions that have been preserved of the repressive measures taken by the Musellim of Cyprus, Küchük (i.e. 'little') Mehmed, in feigned or genuine anticipation of an insurrectionary movement in the island, that of Lacroix [2] appears to be the most judicial:

'Kyprianos was then (*sc.* 1821) Archbishop of Cyprus, and the government of the island had

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 396. [2] *Op. cit.*

been since 1820 in the hands of Kuchuk Mehmed, a man of imperious and dissembling temper, whom the Captan Pasha had chosen purposely to destroy the influence of the Greek Primate. Circumstances soon favoured the execution of his plan. The first insurrectionary movements in Moldavia and Peloponnesus, which had burst a little after the arrival of Kuchuk Mehmed in Cyprus, while they inspired the Ottoman Government with the liveliest fear, sanctioned every measure which its agents could adopt to keep in check their Christian subjects in the provinces which had not risen. Now the Greeks of Cyprus had remained entirely aloof from the national movement which had stirred the other islands and the Greek mainland. "It was not they who were crying out against tyranny, and thought of taking up arms: it was the Turks, who were impatient of the bondage in which the bishops had kept them for fifty years past: it was for them that reaction and liberation were on foot." In fact Kuchuk Mehmed, under pretext of keeping down the Greek population, which only wanted to remain quiet, and in reality to snatch back the reins of power, brought over from the mountains of the Anti Libanus bands of Arabs, Bedouins and Ansariya brigands, and scattered them about the island. The Greeks, terror-struck, allowed themselves to be disarmed to avoid all excuse for suspicion. The Archbishop Kyprianos protests his love of peace, his submission to the government of the Grand Signor. Kuchuk Mehmed persists in inventing a plot, persuades the Grand Vezir

of its reality: he, being perhaps a party to the stratagem, allows the Governor to make an example by the severe punishment of the leaders. Free to act, Kuchuk Mehmed on July 9, 1821, orders the arrest of the Archbishop and the other three bishops. They were taken to the Serai, and were scarcely inside before they were murdered by the janissaries. The Greek notables, who were summoned later, before the news of the slaughter of the prelates had spread, met the same fate. The gates of the palace were then opened, and the bleeding corpses thrown into the square. This was the signal for a general massacre. The convent of Phaneromene was at once occupied, and the priests strangled. I was told, says M. de Mas Latrie, that before killing them the Turks, with a wild refinement of vengeance, saddled the priests, as they would their horses, breaking their teeth to force the bits into their mouths, and making them caper under their spurs. The Greek houses were given over to pillage, massacres began again in all the districts of the island, and confiscation followed massacre. For six months universal terror reigned among the Greek population. The peasants fled to the woods, or Caramania: the notables, the priests and Greeks of means, who had escaped the janissaries, took refuge at Larnaca, under the protection of the European Consuls. Most of them crossed over to Italy or France, and there are few Greek families in whom the names of Marseille or Venice do not still, even now that more than twenty years have passed since their

return to the island, awake tender feelings of gratitude.'[1]

The hierarchy had indeed paid the penalty for its abuse of power. With the tragedy of 1821 its political ascendancy was at an end.[2]

Apart from papers relating to the internal affairs of Cyprus, much of the Consular correspondence of the early years of the nineteenth century reveals glimpses of Napoleon's activities in the Near East.[3] A curious file of February, 1806, contains a lengthy accusation formulated by L. A. Corancez, then French *Commissaire Général* at Aleppo, against the English Consul, John Barker, for having procured the assassination of a French General named Romieu somewhere east of the Euphrates, together with Consul Barker's indignant refutation of the charge. In the same year Sebastiani, subsequently Marshal of France and Ambassador in London, was despatched by Napoleon to Turkey in order to break up the alliance of the Porte with England and Russia, a mission in which he was successful.[4]

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 464.

[2] Some otherwise unpublished details of the events of 1821 are given in Kepiades, Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν κατὰ τὸ 1821 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ τραγικῶν σκηνῶν, Alexandria, 1888.

[3] For a summary of these activities, cf. ch. ii. of Miller's *The Ottoman Empire*, 1801–1913, Cambridge, 1913.

[4] Sebastiani's efforts resulted in Turkey declaring war on the Allies, whereupon the English fleet, under Admiral Duckworth, forced a passage through the Dardanelles and appeared off Constantinople. By the Peace of Tilsit, however, Napoleon and the Czar became reconciled.

On July 5 Pisani writes as follows to Vondiziano from Constantinople :

'Honoured Sir, (I)

'You will have learned by now of the occupation of Ragusa by 13,000 Frenchmen, whose numbers will, I fear, increase. On the one hand they act thus, on the other they are making great preparations in their Palace here for the reception of Sebastiani, appointed Ambassador Extraordinary. Everything is obscure. Nevertheless, all is peaceful here, and an army on the New System of 40,000 men has arrived under Caady Pasha, incredibly well-disciplined. . . .'

Correspondence between Vondiziano and Isaac Morier, a member of the distinguished family of diplomatists and father of the author of the immortal *Haji Baba*, indicates the status of the Levant Company with regard to Consular business, as well as the importance attached by *rayahs* to the privilege of European Consular protection :

'Constantinople,
'*le* 30 *Juillet*, 1806.

'Monsieur,

'J'ai reçu en son temps l'honneur de votre lettre du 1er Avril 1805, à laquelle je n'ai pas pu repondre d'abord, parce que, quoique j'eusse été nommé Consul Général de la Compagnie du Levant, selon que vous en aviez été informé, la Porte Ottomane avoit fait des difficultés de

me reconnoitre, entant que cette une innovation ne lui plaisoit pas. Mais Sa Majesté aiant jugé à propos de me nommer aussi Son Consul Général, la Porte n'a pas pû persister dans son refus de me reconnoitre, et c'est depuis le 8 Cour^{t} que je me trouve complettement installé dans le Poste, le bût du quel n'est que de soigner les interets commerciaux de la Comp^{ie} du Levant, ainsi que ceux de tous sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique qui ne seroient pas Membres de la Compagnie du Levant.

'La Compagnie par sa dernière lettre datée le 11 Avril, m'a ordonné de vous écrire, ainsi qu'aux autres Consuls que vous devez dorenavant correspondre avec moi sur tout ce qui concerne les affaires de la Comp^{ie}, et de communiquer à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur tout ce que vos lettres pourroient contenir de relatif à la politique.

'Tout ce qui concerne les protégés ou Baratlis, est de la compétence de l'Ambassadeur en tout ce qui regarde leurs relations avec le Gouvernement.

'Sans doute que vos démarches en faveur des protégés Britanniques, habitans de Nicosie, si bien motivées, ne sauroient être qu'applaudies, puisqu'il s'agissoit de sauver leurs vies.

'J'ai l'honneur d'être,
'Monsieur,
'Votre très h^{ble} & ob^{t} Serv^{r},
'Isaac Morier.

'A Monsieur,
'Monsr Ant^{ne} Vondiziano,
'Agent de la Comp^{ie} du Levant à Larnaca en Chypres.'

'A Larnaca en Chypre,
'*le* 31 *Juillet*, 1806.

'Monsieur,

'Quoique je n'ai pas manqué par ma precedente du 1er Avril 1805 d'avoir l'honneur de vous écrire, et vous y faire, Monsr, mon compliment de felicitation sur votre nomination de Consul Général de la Compe du Levant residant à C.P., permettez moi que je m'acquitte de nouveau de ce devoir, et vous supplier par celle ci, d'agréer mes voeux aussi ardents que sincères, que j'adresse au Très Haut pour la conservation de vos jours, et pour l'heureux succès de vos operations dans vos nouvelles fonctions auxquelles je viens d'apprendre, par de voix communes, que la Porte vous y a reconnu. Je n'ai pas manqué d'après les ordres dont la Venerable Compe du Levant par des lettres du 10 et 24 Août 1804, m'en donnoit, de devoir par la suite correspondre avec vous, Mr, sur tous les points relatifs à cette agence, de m'empresser à remplir ce devoir par ma surmentionnée du 1er Avril de l'année passée qu'elle resta sans l'honneur de votre reponse. J'eus celui de vous transmettre dans la de lettre une note des Protégés Anglois sous ma jurisdiction. Il est aujourd'hui de mon devoir de vous faire part, Mr., ainsi que j'en rends compte à M. l'Ambr, de la venue du dernier commandement de la Porte, aussi prejudiciable que contraire aux capitulations, par lequel Elle vient arbitrairement de casser tous les Barats et firmans du Pays qui y sont veritablement attachés aux Consulats de Chypre. Parmi ces Barats il y

en a deux qui nous appartiennent, l'un du Sr Serkis Avak, et l'autre de son fils Krikor. A l'arrivée de cet ordre Imperial le Gouv^{r} de l'Isle les a tous privés de leur Diplomes de même que nos deux Protégés, et se sont reduits de simples Rayas et hors de notre protection. Je vous supplie, M. le Consul, de vouloir bien de concert avec S. Ex^{ce} M. l'Amb^{r} prendre des mesures pour que nos deux officiers ne se trouvent pas à la merci du Gouvernement Turc, privés de la Protection de la Grande Bretagne sans l'avoir merité, ayant toujours tenus dans ce pays une conduite de plus honnêtes et irreprochables. Ils sont d'autant plus dignes qu'ils ont même rendus de services à la nation durant la guerre contre les français en Egypte. Ayant d'ailleurs été d'usage ancien d'avoir dans chaque Consulat deux Barat^{res}, il seroit blamable qu'on les enlevat sans même la participation de Messrs les Amb^{res}. J'espere donc Mr., que la Protection Britannique n'adherera jamais à une pareille infraction à ses capitulations, et qu'elle pretendra au contraire à conserver ses droits et privileges à l'égard de nos deux Protégés, pour lesquels j'implore en particulier votre protection et votre assistence. Je vous en aurai comme eux, la plus vive et eternelle reconnoissance, et avec laquelle je ne cesserai d'avoir l'honneur de me dire,

Mr., &c.,

'ANTOINE VONDIZIANO.'

'Mr. Isaac Morier,
'Consul Général de S.M. Britannique, Constantinople.'

A letter dated June 12, 1807, addressed to

Vondiziano by a Cypriote merchant named Calimeri,[1] resident in Tripoli in Syria, casts an unpleasing side-light on conditions in the Lebanon, which since 1697 had been a feudal principality, tributary to the Porte, under the Druse dynasty of Shehab :

'. . . leur lettre du 23 passé annonce la mort tragique des 2 Ministres operée par les Princes Bechir [2] & Hassan regnant aujourdhui, lesquels ont fait crever les yeux aux trois fils de l'Emir Youssef, leurs debiteurs. Comme les Princes Bechir & Hassan sont mes amis je me propose de leur écrire p^r^ tacher de recevoir le payement des 2 m. p^res^. Je me flatte de reussir, mais je ne saurais pourtant l'assurer ; par mes prem^res^ vous saurez le resultat de mes démarches.'

In September, 1810, a Firman was issued by the Sultan, protecting by rigorous orders the monopoly which the Turkish Government exercised over the sale of wheat. The following is the official French translation which accompanied the copy of the Firman despatched to Cyprus :

'Traduction d'un Commandement Impérial

[1] The Larnaca family known by the *sobriquet* of Calimeri is in reality a branch of the ancient family of De Norès and perhaps the only survivor in the island of the feudal Frankish nobility of mediæval Cyprus ; cf. Mas Latrie, *L'ile de Chypre, Sa situation présente*, &c., p. 363.

[2] The Emir Beshir, "the last great Prince of the Mountain," reigned from 1789 to 1840, when, at the age of eighty, he was banished to Malta.

adressé à tous les Vezirs, Pashas et Gouverneurs qui se trouvent sur la route depuis Ponte Piccolo et Ponte Grande jusqu'aux Côtes de la Morée, ainsi qu'au Commissaire des vivres de Salonique et au Mousselim Youssuf Bey, et autres Juges et Officiers, au Caimakam de la Morée, aux Ayans, Officiers, Vaivodes, Mousselims, Douaniers des Echelles, et autres.

'Il est de notoriété publique qu'il a de tout temps été prohibé et défendu de vendre un seul grain de blé d'aucun endroit des Domaines de la Turquie aux Bâtimens étrangers et francs, ainsi qu'aux Bateaux des Iles de l'Archipel ; et cette prohibition a été de temps à autres confirmée par des Commandemens Imperiaux qui ont été émanés à cet effet. Néanmoins il a été verifié et assuré que quelques personnes perverses poussées par une extrème avidité, ammassent le blé dans leurs magasins, et bien loin de l'expedier à Constantinople, ils l'envoient secrétement des Echelles, dans des endroits prohibés ; et il est clair et manifeste qu'il devient nécéssaire de prendre les mesures convenables pour mettre cette affaire sir un pied d'exécution invariable.

'A la reception du present Ordre Imperiale vous Vezirs, Miri-Mirans, Pachas, Juges et autres susmentionnés, en cas qu'il y a eu du blé chargé secretement à bord des Vaisseaux étrangers et francs, des Echelles et districts qui sont sous vos jurisdictions, vous devrez immediatement le faire décharger et vous l'expedirez à Constantinople conjointement avec un juste Etat de sa quantité ; et vous devrez recuperer immediate-

ment et entièrement le montant de cette somme de la part de celui qu'a reçu l'argent et vous la consignerez au Capitaine de telle puissance que ce soit par le canal de son Consul et Drogman.

'Cette mesure sera pratiquée pour l'espace de seize jours après l'arrivée du present Commandement Imperial : apres que le terme de seize jours sera expiré si l'on rencontrera tant sur mer que dans les Echelles, des Bâtimens chargés de grains pour les transporter dans des Pays étrangers, la Cargaison de ces Bâtimens de telle Puissance que ce soit sera saisie et considerée comme une prise. A l'expiration du susdit terme de pareilles personnes se trouvant sous vos districts et Echelles et osant accumuler des grains dans leurs magasins pour les vendre à un haut prix et les exporter sur des Bâtimens dans les Pays de la Chrétienté, ces grains seront immédiatement saisis et considerés comme une prise, et la Cargaison de ces Bâtimens sera expediée à Constantinople. Et s'il sera nécéssaire de charger du blé des endroits qui sont sous vos Jurisdictions sur des Bâtimens étrangers pour les faire parvenir à Constantinople, les Commissaires qui chargeront et noliseront ces Bâtimens auront soin de mettre à bord un homme de leur part, et ils prendront un *Ilam* juridique avec des Dépêches, qui seront remises de la part du Commissaire à l'homme susdit, au quel il sera donné instructions de la teneur de ces Dépêches, portant que les dits grains ne doivent pas être detournés du chemin droit, mais portés directement à Constantinople. En un mot, de tel endroit

que ce so ilit, ne doit être absolument donné un seul grain de blé, orge, et farine tant secrètement que publiquement sans un Ordre Imperiale aux Bâtimens des Puissances étrangères et aux Bateaux des Iles de l'Archipel.

Cette affaire des provisions exigeant la plus grande attention du Gouvernement il n'y aura point a cet égard aucune faveur, ni aucune condéscendance qui puissent prévaloir, et les portes du pardon et de l'intercession seront fermées. De sorte que si jamais (dont Dieu garde et preserve) il sera entendu que dans les Districts, Echelles, et Ports qui sont sous vos jurisdictions il aura été donné ou laissé échapper un seul grain de blé, à part les Bâtimens francs et étrangers et les Bateaux des Iles, mais jusqu'à un Esquiff à deux rames, ou bien que les Capitaines des Corvettes qui ont la commission de faire des récherches sur les grains se seront emparés de quelques uns d'eux; après avoir verifié l'endroit ou l'echelle d'où on fait échapper les susdits grains et les personnes qui ont osé les vendre et acheter, outre la juste punition qui sera infligée aux vendeurs, il est resolu que l'on chatiera severement les officiers et Commissaires de tels endroits qui en auront permis la vente, en procedant avec une égale rigueur aussi contre tous ceux qui voudront intercéder en leur faveur.

'Outre qu'il a été notifié aux Ministres étrangers par des Notes Officielles remises separément à chacun d'eux, combien cette affaire importante exige la plus scrupulense attention et la surveillance la plus suivie, et qu'il a été donné des ordres

à ceux à qui il appartient, pour qu'il ne soit donné un seul grain de provisions de quelque endroit que ce soit aux Puissances étrangères, et qu'après l'expiration du dit terme les grains chargés sur de pareils Bâtimens seront saisis et considerés comme prises ; il a été de plus donné à cet égard les instructions les plus strictes et rigoureuses par des ordres separés aux Commandans et officiers en Egypte, Alexandrie, Narda, et ses environs, aux Iles de Candie, Chypres, Chio, Metelin, Rhodes, Limnos, Samos, Scala nuova, Smirne, aux Echelles des Côtes de Syrie, et autres endroits, de même qu'aux Capitaines des Corvettes qui sont en croisière, et qui ont la commission de faire des recherches sur les grains ; et il est decidé que toute l'attention sera donnée de la part de ma Sublime Porte pour faire les recherches nécéssaires tant secrètement que publiquement afin de tenir en pleine vigueur l'arrangement ci-dessus.

'Vous vous empresserez donc de publier mes ordres et ma volonté souveraine partout où il sera nécéssaire et vous veillerez jour et nuit pour que cet arrangement soit mis à execution ; vous fermerez les echelles et ports et autres endroits d'ou l'on peut exporter des grains, et qui sont sous vos jurisdictions ; à l'arrivée du present ordre Imperial en cas qu'il se trouveroit qu'on a chargé du blé à bord des Bâtimens pour les faire echapper, vous le debarquerez immédiatement ; et vous l'expedirez à Constantinople ; vous recupererez le montant de la somme du vendeur et vous la consignerez à

l'acheteur par le canal de son Consul et Drogman ; après l'expiration du susdit terme, si on trouve de pareils Bâtimens chargés de grain ils doivent être arretés, et la Cargaison sera considerée comme prise et expediée à Constantinople ; vous vous empresserez d'informer ma Sublime Porte du nom et de la condition des individus qui auront osé d'en faire la vente ; finalement il vous est ordonné de mettre tous vos soins, et de vous concerter ensemble, à ce que dorénavant il ne soit exporté par les Vaisseaux étrangers un seul grain de blé et des denrées prohibées.

'C'est pourquoi le present Ordre Imperial vous est adressé et expedié de mon *Rikiab* Imperial par N. . . . N. . . . contenant les ordres et les prescriptions les plus rigoureuses specifiés ci-dessus.

'A son arrivée s'il y a dans les echelles qui sont sous vos jurisdictions de pareils bâtimens étrangers et francs, et des bateaux des Iles sur les quels il se trouveroit des grains vendus pour être exportés, vous les ferez immédiatement decharger et les expedirez à Constantinople ; vous en retirerez l'argent du vendeur et vous le remettrez par le canal du Consul et du Drogman, et apres l'expiration du terme susmentionné, si l'on trouve de pareils Bâtimens, vous les ferez aussitôt arrêter et en considerant leur Cargaison comme prise vous les ferez passer à ma Sublime Porte, ne manquant point de mettre en liberté le Bâtiment ; ma volonté Souveraine étant que vous employez à cet egard la plus grande attention à l'execution de mes ordres suprêmes comme ci-

dessus. Et si par la suite il parvient a votre connoissance qu'on a osé vendre un seul grain aux Bâtimens francs et étrangers, et aux Bateaux des Iles ; comme il vous a été signifié que ceux qui ont osé faciliter la vente doivent être sevèrement punis, vous agirez d'après ce que vous a été notifié ci-dessus. Vous signifierez la teneur de mes ordres à ceux à qui il appartiendra, en donnant la main à leur execution ; vous empecherez et reprimerez tous ceux qui ont osé accumuler des grains dans leur magasins pour les vendre à un haut prix, vous donnerez de commun accord tous vos soins et votre attention à informer la Sublime Porte des noms et conditions des individus qui ne voudront point se corriger, ainsi que de ceux qui les protegeront, et vous prendrez bien garde de vous attirer mon indignation Imp^le^ en vous rendant coupables de la moindre negligence à cet egard.

'Shaaban 1225.

. . . . .

'Une Copie du même Commandement a été adressée au Gouverneur de Yanina Aly Pacha, afin qu'il signifie aux chefs et Commandans de Narda et autres endroits situés sur les côtes, la teneur du Ferman original, que lui meme aussi de son côté donne tous ses soins à fermer Narda et autres endroits par où les grains peuvent passer, sans permettre qu'il soit donné un seul grain de ble aux Bâtimens ci-dessus, et qu'il employe tous ses efforts à envoyer à Constantinople beaucoup plus de grain qu'on n'attend de lui.

'Une autre Copie a été adressée au Gouverneur

de l'Egypte mon Vezir Mehemed Aly Pacha lui enjoignant de faire connoitre la teneur du Ferman original aux Juges et aux Commandans d'Alexandrie et de Damiette ; de faire tout son possible d'empêcher qu'il ne soit donné un seul grain de denrées aux Bâtimens ci-dessus ; et qu'il mette en œuvre toute sa diligence pour faire passer à la Capitale beaucoup plus de provisions que l'on n'attend de sa part.

'Une autre Copie a été adressée aux Gouverneurs de Sude, d'Acre, de Giaffa, de Syrie et aux officiers de ces echelles.

'Une autre Copie comme ci-dessus a été adressée au Gouverneur de Candie Mehemed Hakky Pacha et au Commandant de la Cannée Abdulkadir Pacha leur ordonnant de signifier les ordres contenus dans le Ferman original au Gouverneur de Retmo, aux Juges de la Cannée de candie, et de Retmo ; aux officiers des Ianissaires et aux Douaniers pour qu'ils mettent tous leurs soins, à ce qu'un seul grain de blé, orge, farine ne soit vendu ni exporté de l'Ile de Candie.

'Une autre Copie a été adressée au Juge de Nicossie, au Douanier et au Gouverneur de Chypres, et aux autres Juges et Magistrats de cette Ile.

'Un autre Commandement de la même teneur a été adressé au Chambellan de ma Cour Imperiale le Gouverneur de l'Ile de Metelin, et aux Juges de Kalvina, et de Molora.

'Une autre Copie a été adressée au Juge et au Gouverneur de Scio Kiamil Hussein Efendi, aux Magistrats de Lemnos, Samos, Imbro, au

Commissaire des grains, Vaivode Douanier et autres officiers dans ces Iles.

'Une autre copie a été adressée aux Pachas, Juges, et autres officiers ayant leur Gouvernemens, et Jurisdictions sur les côtes de l'Asie depuis Marmara jusqu'à l'echelle d'Alexandrette.'

In the same year (1810) we find Vondiziano complaining to Pisani of the pretensions advanced by his subordinate Francoudes, British Consular Agent at Limasol, to official independence of the Larnaca Vice-Consulate. Vondiziano describes Francoudes as a Greek who had ingratiated himself with British Naval Officers by provisioning, in 1799, the Squadron which called at Limasol under Commodore Sir Samuel Hood on its way to blockade Alexandria. Limasol was at that time an insignificant place as compared with Larnaca, which is described by Vondiziano as 'il centro di tutto Cipro.' He continues: 'E sempre stato l'antico uso di Cipro di tutte lè nazione di nominare li Consoli di Larnaca'; a usage which continues to the present day.

Most travellers who visited Cyprus in Turkish times remarked on the ceremony which was maintained by the Consular Corps at Larnaca. Thus Light observes: 'I was often amused by the assumed dignity of the different representatives of European nations at Larnaca, where the Austrian, Neapolitan, French, and Spanish Consuls had their residence, and where etiquette of precedency was pushed to a degree not known in our own country; all except the French Consul were

engaged in trade.'[1] Every year, with unfailing regularity, the Consuls advised their colleagues in pompous language of the birthdays of their respective Sovereigns, whom they generally described as 'mon Auguste Maître,' so that the auspicious anniversary should meet with due observance. Of this class of correspondence the following letter is an example, more interesting than most because of the special circumstances that provoked it:

'RELATIONS EXTERIEURES.

'LARNACA (ILE DE CHYPRE),
'*le* 6 *Juillet*, 1814.

'MONSIEUR LE CONSUL,

'J'ai l'honneur de vous prevenir, quoique la nouvelle officielle de la paix generale ne me soit pas parvenue, que l'ancien pavillon de France sera arboré et salué demain au lever du soleil dans mon Consulat. L'heureux Rétablissement du Roi mon maître sur le Trône de Ses ancêtres anéantit toutes les haines entre les nations et les souverains de l'Europe; et cette connoissance me suffit pour vous inviter à vouloir bien faire arborer le pavillon de votre Souverain.

'Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Consul, l'assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle je suis,

'Votre très humble et
'très obéissant serviteur,
'REGNAULT.

'A Monsieur Vondiziano Consul d'Angleterre en Chypre.'

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 420.

On July 26, 1814, Vondiziano writes as follows to Pisani:

'HONOURED SIR, (I)

'Your esteemed letter of April 27 only reached me yesterday, by way of Nicosia. Before referring to its contents, I must advise you of the arrival in Cyprus of the Commandant of Antioch, Haji Bekir Agha, an excellent person, who was protected in 1800 by Sir Sidney Smith from the persecution of the Grand Vizier. He is a great friend of Consul Barker of Aleppo, also of my own and of all the English travellers; and he is now being persecuted by the Pasha (Bascià) of Aleppo, who has gone to Antioch and made an inventory of his possessions. After leaving Antioch, Haji Bekir Agha was invited by the Pasha to return, with the promise that no harm would come to him; but, distrusting the invitation, he decided to proceed to Cyprus, whence he will shortly depart for Rhodes. From Rhodes he will travel at once to the capital, where he has some powerful protectors among the members of the Divan.

'Seeing that he is a person who merits every help and protection, I take the liberty of recommending him to your well-known goodness and kindness to those in trouble. . . .'

In the postscript to a letter of March 10, 1815, from Vondiziano to Isaac Morier, the name of Lady Hester Stanhope, Pitt's eccentric niece, who eventually established herself in feudal state in the Lebanon, appears for the first time in these archives:

'... Il vient d'arriver sur cette rade un petit bateau portant pavillon anglois, commandé par capitaine Bonetti, venant de Corfou et ayant à bord un enseigne au service de la marine Sicilienne nommé Tommaso Coscich. Cet officier quitta Vienne le 9 Decembre, étant porteur des lettres & effets pour Milady Stanhope de la part de Sir Sidney Smith. Je vais lui procurer de provisions et un pilote pour poursuivre à Seÿde, où se trouve Milady Stanhope. . . .'

On April 12 Vondiziano writes to Morier:

'... Depuis le 23 Mars nous savons ici par les journaux de Malte l'évasion de Bonaparte de l'Ile d'Elbe suivie le 26 fr. & sa descente en France. Les ds. nouvelles de Malte du 22 Mars et 9 de Marseille faisoient d'esperer que le gouvernement avoit pris les moyens necessaires pour arreter tous progrès ulterieur de Bonaparte, et c'est à le desirer pour la tranquillité du monde.

'Mr. William Turner heureusement arrivé le 12 Mars au soir me remit l'honneur de votre lettre du 6 fevrier. N'ayant pas manqué, Monsieur, de lui temoigner tous les bons acceuils possibles en égard à votre recommendation & à celle de S.E. M^r^ l'ambassadeur, il resta chez moi onze jours et partit ensuite pour Bairut. . . .' [1]

[1] Turner, whose *Journal of a Tour in the Levant* has already been quoted, thus refers to his reception by Mr. Vondiziano (*Excerpta*, pp. 424–5): "We walked immediately to Larnaca, about a quarter of a mile distance from the marina, where I went to the house of the English consul, to whom I delivered

The following are extracts from letters written by Pisani to Vondiziano from Constantinople in the course of 1816–17:

'*June* 13, 1816 (I).

'. . . I have now to ask of you a personal favour, which I beg that you will carry out with caution and with your customary discretion. A month ago the Government unexpectedly ordered the arrest of two of the principal Armenian bankers—one named Manuk Hudaverdi, the other Kilji Oglu Khoja Anton—an event which has caused the utmost astonishment, as both persons enjoy an excellent reputation and are most useful to the public service. It is all a question of jealousy and spite. Both gentlemen, however—they are great friends of mine—have to-day been sent into exile, Khoja Anton to Cyprus and Manuk to Rhodes.

'The favour I ask of you is to send some one to comfort Khoja Anton, and to extend to him such help and good offices as it is customary to offer to exiles. . . .'

'*August* 9, 1816 (I).

'. . . It is given out as certain that His Ex-

despatches from Mr. Liston, and who received me with the greatest hospitality, and put me into a very neat room, where I soon forgot the fatigues of my voyage in a good bed. . . . Mr. Vondiziano, my host, is a man in easy circumstances (a native of Cephalonia), whose family consists of a wife and five daughters. . . . When I rose in the morning I was happy to find myself in the house of a British consul, who keeps up the dignity of his character. He has the King's Arms over the door of his house, at which two janizaries are stationed.'

cellency Mr. Liston and his Lady will return here at the end of the autumn. . . . The new Russian Envoy, Count Strogonow, has not yet arrived. He is, however, expected daily from Odessa. The Chevalier Italinski, a man genuinely respected, is destined for the appointment of Minister in Rome.

'I am very obliged to you for the information you gave me about the Princess of Wales. We had her here for eleven days. But I am surprised at what you say about the behaviour of Soliman Pasha; the more so as H.R.H. had a letter of recommendation to him. There must have been a special motive.

'Four weeks ago an Algerine Ambassador arrived here, escorted as far as the Dardanelles by His Majesty's Frigate *Tagus*, Captain Dundass. He has brought presents valued at over a million piastres Turkish, which are much appreciated at the Porte and in the Seraglio. In two months' time the said Frigate is to return to fetch him. The plague has broken out in various parts of the city, but with little violence. . . .'

'*October* 14, 1816 (I).

'. . . On September 24 a fire broke out in the Seraglio of Beshiktash, and destroyed the entire Harem. Much property was lost, and there perished one of the Sultan's favourite girls and several female slaves who were unable to effect their escape. The fire was caused by an accident in one of the Baths. . . .The late Russian Envoy, the Chevalier Italinski, paid his farewell visit

to the Porte on the 12th instant. He is retiring into private life, and has received a handsome snuff-box set with brilliants, as is the custom. The new Envoy, Baron Strogonow, has not yet had his audiences. . . .'

'*March* 12, 1817 (I).

'. . . It seems certain that His Excellency Mr. Liston, who is now Knight of the Noble Order of the Bath, whereby Madame Liston has the title of Lady, is returning to the Porte as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. This will be a good thing for all, and especially for you, whom he holds in great esteem. Here everything is for the moment quiet. Many ships pass into the Black Sea, but none that do not fly the English, Russian, French or Austrian flag. Such Spaniards, Swedes, and Neapolitans as arrive, since they do not enjoy the same immunities from the Porte regarding grain as do the aforesaid four Powers (the Porte requiring certain compensating privileges which these nations decline to accord), change their flag on arrival here. The French Ambassador is contemplating a visit to the Holy Places, but will not leave for some time. . . . The Russian Envoy, Baron Strogonow, is much esteemed, and is indeed a most worthy gentleman. . . . *Inter nos*, I fear that the relations between his Court and the Porte are not in a prosperous way. . . .'

'*July* 29, 1817 (I).

'. . . In the first place, I must congratulate

you on the excellent repute in which you are with My Lady Stanhope, now in Syria at the Convent of Mar Elias. I am in constant correspondence with her, and, having asked her privately for her opinion as to the conduct of certain of our Agents and Vice-Consuls in those parts, received from her the very worst reports. . . . At the end of her letter, however, she writes : "I must make an exception in favour of the Consul in Cyprus. I do not know him personally, but from what I hear of him and his wife, they are two most honourable and estimable people." . . . On the 19th instant, thanks be to Heaven, the noble Mr. Liston and his Lady arrived here safely. . . . All Constantinople is overjoyed at their return. If you should discover any rare plants, I trust you will not forget Lady Liston. . . . The Russian Envoy remains on passably harmonious terms with the Porte, but the delay of his public audiences gives food for reflection. Baron Strogonow is a gentleman of the highest capacity. . . . We have a new Neapolitan Envoy, Count Constantine Ludolf. His father, who has the same name, left early in June for Naples *en route* for London, where he is going as Envoy Extraordinary. The son does not resemble his father. There is also a new Prussian Envoy, Baron Miltitz. The previous Envoy, Baron Senfft von Pilsach, left in disgrace on the 28th instant for Berlin. . . .'

The following order, relating to the salutes due to British men-of-war at Larnaca, is the

solitary example in the archives of a document signed by the notorious Küchük Mehmed:

'In the name of God. (T)

'To the Dizdar of the fort of Tuzla, a model of trustworthy persons and of defenders of fortresses, may his custody increase!

'This is to advise you that in view of the manifest amity between the Imperial Ottoman Government of everlasting duration and the Government of England, observance of the established ceremonies of welcoming by firing salutes on the arrival of its men-of-war being a stipulation ratified by His Imperial Majesty, the present *Buyuruldu* (decree) has been issued and given to you from the Divan at Nicosia in order that you should pay particular attention to carry out the stipulations by firing salutes from the fort, in accordance with the Imperial Convention, when the men-of-war of the said Government come to the harbour at the port of Tuzla. By the grace of God, it is requisite that you should act and conduct yourself in accordance with the requirement thereof, and use care against and abstain from any contravention of it.

'19 Sha'ban, 1231 (July, 1816).

'The Muhassil of Cyprus,

'Es-Seid Mehmed Emin.'

On August 3, 1819, an act of piracy was committed off Cape Gata (south of Limasol), on the English brig *Helen*. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Malta, in enclosing a brief report

on the case, writes as follows to the British Vice-Consul in Cyprus :

'Chief Secretary's Office,
'Valletta,
'*September* 14, 1819.

'Sir,

'I have the honor to transmit for your information Copy of a letter addressed by the British Consul at Alicant to His Excellency General Don, Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar, detailing an act of most atrocious piracy committed on the English Brig *Helen* from Liverpool, bound to Genoa while off Cape de Gatt—by a vessel supposed to be British.

'I have further to acquaint you, that since the receipt of the above communication at Malta, a variety of Reports have been made to this Government tending in the strongest manner to attach suspicion on a vessel which arrived in this Island on the 29th ultimo, and which sailed again from hence for Smyrna on the 2nd instant.

'This vessel is the *William*, Christopher Delano Master, of and from Liverpool—and from her perfectly answering the description given of the pirate—and from the conduct of the Master, who is an American, and of the crew thereof, during her stay here, as stated by a variety of persons upon oath before a Magistrate, there is every reason to suppose that she is the very same vessel which committed the said piracy.

'The whole of this information will be immediately transmitted to the Command in Chief

of His Majesty's Naval Forces. In the meantime a vessel has been taken up here by the Merchants and some additional hands put on board of her, belonging to His Majesty's Ship *Spey*—and she was despatched on the 12th inst. for Smyrna in search of the *William*.

'I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your most ob^{t} humble Servant,

RICHARD PLASKET,

'Chief Secretary to Government.'

'Enclosure.

'ALICANT, *August* 5, 1819.

'SIR,

'I have to acquaint your Excellency that this morning arrived in this Bay, the Boat and Crew of the English Brig *Helen*, Captain Richard Connick, bound from Liverpool to Genoa and Leghorn, with a general cargo on board; and having met off Cape de Gatt with a Brig, apparently to be English, armed with sixteen guns, on the night of the 3rd inst., who fired a gun at her and sent a Boat manned and armed, with an Officer, who plundered the said vessel of her cargo and Jolly Boat and afterwards sunk her.

'The description given by Captn Connick of this pirate is, a Brig, straight broad yellow sides, without figure-head; in her foresail 3rd cloth in the starboard leech is J^{s} Quilliam Sailmaker, Liverpool. Foretopsail 3rd cloth, Larboard leech, stamped with J. Ashburn Sailmaker Liverpool, Jib and Foretop staysails the same mark.

Lower Masts painted yellow and the yards & Mast Heads, white lead.

'The post being on departure, I am not able to get further particulars from the Captain for Your Excellency's Government.

'I have, &c.,

(signed) 'PHILLIP ATHY.'

On February 21, 1820, Pisani writes as follows to Vondiziano (I):

'Well knowing your friendly zeal in all matters appertaining to the service of Lady Hester Stanhope, I am taking the liberty to address to your care a small box for her Ladyship, which I beg that you will forward to her by whatever means you may judge expedient.

'The box merely contains some sealing wax, paper, pens, and similar trifles. . . .'

In the spring of 1821 began the War of Greek Independence, but it was not until the Treaty of July 6, 1827, that Great Britain, France, and Russia recognized Greece as a belligerent State. Until that date Great Britain remained officially neutral; and a circular despatch of June 7, 1823, from His Majesty's Consul-General in Constantinople to the Consular Officers within his jurisdiction enjoins on them carefully to abstain from all action tending 'to offend against the principles of neutrality, which the British Government desires its Agents and subjects to observe

in the present War between the Sublime Ottoman Porte and the Insurgents.'

The warning appears to have been needed, for on October 6, 1823, Vondiziano received a reprimand from the Vice-Admiral Commander-in-Chief for having, on April 6 of that year, 'freighted the British Merchant Vessel *Nancy* for a voyage to Jaffa to carry thither 10,000 Dollars and 600 Cannon Balls for the Pasha.' The *Nancy* was stopped on her way 'by a Greek Schooner, which took her into St. Jean d'Acre, seized the Money and landed the Cannon Balls'; and the Admiral complained that by his action the Consul had 'exposed the British Merchant Flag to insult.'

In 1825 the Levant Company surrendered its Charter to the King; and henceforth the powers it had hitherto exercised were vested in the Crown. The Company thus notified the change to its representative and Vice-Consul in Cyprus:

'London, *May* 19, 1825.

'Sir,

'We have now to apprize you that our Authority is, this day, transferred to the Crown.

'It being part of the arrangement with His Majesty's Government, that our Officers in Turkey are to be taken into the King's Service, you will on receipt of this letter, consider yourself released from your engagement with Us, and follow only the instructions which you may receive from His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

'With our best wishes for your health and prosperity,

'We are, Sir,

'Your sincere Friends,

'THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING INTO THE LEVANT SEAS.

'Mr. Antonio Vondiziano,
'Agent in Cyprus.'

A despatch from the Foreign Secretary to the Consul-General in Constantinople explains in greater detail the changes involved by the transfer:

'FOREIGN OFFICE, *May* 30, 1825.

'SIR,

'The Levant Company having petitioned The King that they might be permitted to surrender their Charter into His Majesty's hands, and His Majesty having been graciously pleased to accept the same, I have to acquaint you that the Charters have accordingly been surrendered to His Majesty and that the authority of the Company over the Consuls and other subordinate Officers in the Levant is consequently vested in the Crown.

'In acquainting you with this circumstance, I have at the same time to inform you, that Bills are now in progress through Parliament to confirm the transfer of the Levant Company and also for the better regulation of His Majesty's Consuls abroad, and that so soon as these acts shall have passed the Legislature, full and detailed Instruc-

tions will be forwarded to His Majesty's Consuls in the Levant, for the future guidance of their conduct.

'In the meantime I have to desire that you, as well as the several Consuls and other Officers in the Levant, will consider the Instructions you have heretofore received from the Company as the rule of your conduct in so far as the same are applicable to the present circumstances. The Consuls in the Levant will report to the Consul General for the information of His Majesty's Minister at the Sublime Porte all occurrences connected with their Consulate and they will apply through the same channel to him upon all occasion, wherein they may require his assistance and information; and they will not fail to obey such Instructions as they shall from time to time receive from him for the guidance of their conduct in their official situation.

'With the surrender of the Charters, the property and Funds of the Company have been transferred to the Crown; and it has been determined, in order to afford time to bring the new Consular arrangement to maturity, that the whole of the Establishment in the Levant shall be continued on its present footing, in point of Emolument, until the 5th of January, 1826. In consequence, however, of the Consuls having been directed by the Company to desist from collecting the duties and consulages subsequently to the 1st of March last, Mr. Daubuz the late Treasurer has been requested to defray the amount of Bills which may be drawn for the payment of the whole

of such salaries up to the 25th of June next. I shall not fail to acquaint you for the information of the Parties interested, with the arrangement which may be made for the future payment of those salaries from the 25th of June, 1825.

'You will communicate a Copy of this Despatch to the several Consuls and to such of the other officers of the late Company in the Levant as may be necessary (sending me a list thereof), and you will direct them to act in conformity with the instructions contained in it.

'I am, Sir,

'Your most obedient humble Servant,

'GEORGE CANNING.

'J. Cartwright, Esqre.

'H.M. Consul General, Constantinople.'

The battle of Navarino on October 20, 1827, although disavowed in the King's Speech as an "untoward event," led to the departure of the Ambassadors of the three Powers from Constantinople. Of the Powers Russia alone declared war on Turkey; but the following despatch from the Ambassador shows how strained were the relations for a time between the Porte and Great Britain:

'H.M.S. "DRYAD," VOURLA BAY,
'*December* 18, 1827.

'SIR,

'Referring to my Circular of the 27th Ultimo, and to the Postscript accompanying it under date of the 4th Instant, you will understand

that in the event of your choosing to remain at your post under the present circumstances, and notwithstanding my departure and that of the French and Russian Representatives from Constantinople, you can remain only as a private individual. As it is possible, however, that if you were to discontinue the exercise of your Consular functions too suddenly, some inconvenience, not to say prejudice might result therefrom to the interests of our Merchants, I have agreed with the French Ambassador since our arrival here to authorize you and your Colleague the French Consul to defer taking that step until the 15th of January next, provided you have no reason to apprehend any interference from the local government in the meantime. On that Day, if not before, you will close your Chancery and take down your Flag, availing yourself of the interval to make His Majesty's subjects in your Consulship fully aware of the critical state of affairs, and to provide by all means in your power for the security of their persons and property, against the contingency of a more decided rupture unfortunately taking place between the Porte and the three allied Powers.

'I have requested the Senior Officer on this station to send one of the vessels under his command for the protection and eventual embarkation of yourself and others of His Majesty's subjects at your place of residence. The smallness of his force and the number of demands upon it occasions great difficulty at this moment; but he will do whatever he can in concert with the

French Admiral to send either a British or a French man of war for your protection in leaving the Country.

'After the cessation of your Consular Functions, the Chancery of the Dutch Consulship, agreeable to what I stated in the Postscript of my last Circular, will be open to the Transactions of any of our Merchants who may remain in the Country.

'The French Consul will receive an instruction similar in substance to this, and you will act in concert with him on the subject, observing that the object of this instruction must be carried into effect at latest on the 15th of January.

'I am, with truth and Regard, Sir,

'Your most obedient humble Servant,

'STRATFORD CANNING.

'Mr. Vondiziano,
'His Britannic Majesty's Consul,
'Larnaca, Cyprus.'

During the interruption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Turkey Vondiziano remained in Cyprus, but, in accordance with the terms of the above despatch, his Consular functions were suspended until 1829, when by a letter from Consul-General Cartwright, dated September 12 of that year, he was instructed to resume them. He describes his resumption of office in a letter of October 17, 1829, to the Consul-General (I):

'On the 10th of this month, invested in my honourable Consular functions, I caused His

Majesty's flag to be hoisted at 9 a.m. It was saluted with 21 guns from the mortar of the Consulate, by 21 guns from the fort [*sc.* of Larnaca], and by various Ionian vessels that happened to be in port. All the foreign Consuls hoisted their flags and paid me visits of congratulation on the same day. . . . His Excellency the Governor of the Island, Ali Ruki Effendi, who had been notified by me through my Dragoman, sent expressly to his residence, Nicosia, not only wrote to me a letter full of friendly expressions, but despatched here one of his high officials to congratulate me. This officer attended all the festivities and ordered the fort to give the above-mentioned salute, an honour hitherto conferred on no other Consul. He has also granted me a second Dragoman, rendered necessary by the desirability of expediting shipping affairs.

'On the same day the flag was also hoisted at Limasol by the Consular Agent there, Signor Nicola Francudi, being saluted by the fort with 7 guns in accordance with a *Buyuruldu* (decree) of the Governor.

'I must here express my satisfaction with the zeal displayed by the Dutch Consul, Signor Marco Antonio Santi, in taking charge of the interests of the English nation during the time that my consular functions were in abeyance.'

In 1831 the reforming Sultan Mahmud II, whose reign witnessed the loss of many Christian provinces, had also to face a revolt of his Moslem

subjects in Bosnia and Albania. The leader of this movement, one Husein Agha of Gradishka, 'the Dragon of Bosnia,' gathered round his green standard at Banjaluka an army of Mohammedan Serbs and Arnauts, who resented the innovations of the 'Giaour Sultan.' The Porte, in the course of the campaign which ensued, declared a blockade of the Albanian coast, which was announced to the Cyprus Consulate by the Consul-General in Constantinople in the following despatch:

'*April* 28, 1831 (I).

'Sir,

'I have to inform you that the Sublime Porte has officially notified His Excellency the Ambassador of a blockade which it proposes to establish against the portion of the Albanian coast which lies within the confines of the Pashalik of Scutari.

'The blockade takes effect from the date of its notification, that is to say, from the 24th instant.

'On the arrival of the Ottoman Squadron off the coasts of Albania, Frank vessels will be given 24 hours' grace, after which the blockade will be enforced, the ports of Preveza and Arta being excluded from its operation. The blockade will extend from Durazzo to the extremity of the Ottoman dominions in the Gulf of Venice. All ports and harbours within these limits will be blockaded, and no vessel will be allowed to enter them.

'You will be good enough to bring the blockade

to the notice of all British and Ionian subjects in your district.

'I have, &c.,

'John Cartwright.

'Mr. Antonio Vondiziano,
'British Consular Agent in Cyprus.'

One of the results of the recognition of the Greek Kingdom by the Powers was that many Orthodox Cypriotes, anxious to emancipate themselves from the status of *rayahs*, proceeded to Greece in order to acquire Hellenic citizenship. They would appear to have had little difficulty in obtaining the privilege; for already in 1831 the number of Cypriotes who had returned to their native island with Greek passports was so considerable as to alarm the Turks, who were compelled to decree that persons thus naturalized, unless they had obtained the sanction of the Porte to their abandonment of Ottoman nationality, would resume that nationality should they return to Turkey.

The Cypriotes of Larnaca affected by this order thereupon despatched the following appeal to the Russian Consul in Cyprus, as representing the Protecting Powers of Greece:

'Marina (Larnaca),
'*December* 3, 1831 (G).

'To Mr. Constantine Peristiani, Consul of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias,

'We have just learned with the utmost surprise that yesterday, following upon the reading of the orders of the Sublime Porte, His Beatitude the

Archbishop, having summoned all Greek subjects in Nicosia in accordance with the instructions of the Governor of the island, made use of the most terrible threats in order to induce them to abandon their right to Hellenic protection and to remain in Cyprus in the condition of rayahs. This method having failed, for the Greeks were unanimous in wishing to depart after having settled their affairs, violence, with its accustomed barbarities, came to the aid of threats.

'Our fellow-nationals, some dragged through the streets of Nicosia by the Governor's satellites, brutally beaten, and cast into prison, the others in hiding from the persecution of the Government, are unable through your mediation to seek the protection of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

'The unparalleled abuses of the Governors of this wretched island have reduced a part of its inhabitants to flight; and these, favoured by the article of the Protocol of London dealing with emigration, have obtained Greek nationality, prepared to leave their native land in order to escape from the vexations and depredations of an insatiable greed, which, having reached its height, has become unbearable.

The boundless greed of the Governors, which always finds for its instruments certain individuals whose interest lies in pandering to it, has been the cause of the island's depopulation.

'It will be they who, by persisting in their diabolical methods, will reduce the island to total ruin, if the watchful eye of the Sublime Porte does not light upon them in time.

'It is not out of place, Sir, to point out to you here that among those who, by virtue of the article as to emigration in the Protocol of London, are in possession of Greek passports, are many who have lived in Greece since the beginning of the revolution, and have fought for its independence. Others, who hold public offices in Greece, have returned here by leave of the Government in order to settle their private affairs. The local Authorities, who are especially animated against the latter, will probably resort to acts of violence and aggression, if you, in your solicitude, do not take in this matter such steps as may be opportune.

'In the meantime the undersigned Greek subjects at present in this town by this petition invoke in the names of the Greek Government and of the three Protecting Powers, your protection, Sir, both for themselves and for all Greek subjects in this island, demanding full satisfaction for the acts of aggression lately committed in Nicosia against their fellow-nationals, and protesting formally against the local Authorities, who, by conduct so reprehensible and so hostile, are compromising their personal safety, their property, and their honour.

'In requesting you, Sir, to transmit true copies of this document to the two other Consulates of the allied and Protecting Powers of Greece, whose help we also solicit in this matter,

'We have the honour to be with much respect,

'Your humble Servants,

'The Greek Citizens.'

In his report to the Consul-General in Constantinople, likewise dated December, 1831, Vondiziano describes the position from a somewhat different point of view to that of the petitioners (I):

'. . . The object of this letter is to report to you the arrival of Hihsat Bey, who has been appointed Inspector-General, in order to take steps for the well-being of the Island.

'He has made his official entry into Nicosia, and it appears, after the reading of his Firmans, that his principal object is to suppress the seditious Hellenes, who are increasing daily in the Island, and have begun to give umbrage to the Turks.

'In several of my reports I have called your attention to the emigration of these islanders; the bulk of them go to Greece and return to their native country with Greek passports, which are accorded easily and without delay. Thus they enter again into possession of their goods and their houses, exempt from all tribute and with the privileges of the Franks. To such an extent has this process been adopted by peasants and persons of all conditions, that, were it to continue, the island would shortly become a Greek colony, and the Sultan be left with nothing but the empty title of suzerain (*padrone*). An order has therefore been issued that these persons must revert to the category of *rayah*; several have already been arrested, and it appears that rigorous measures will be taken to check this practice.'

Mehmed 'Ali, Pasha of Egypt, was now together with his son Ibrahim, in revolt against his suzerain; and Vondiziano continues in the same despatch:

'You will have heard that the expedition of the Viceroy of Egypt has at last moved toward the coast of Syria. Ibrahim Pasha is before Acre; and has announced to the rebel Satrap the surrender of the town. It seems that the town wishes to resist, but it will be obliged to surrender to superior forces.

'Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem are in the hands of the conqueror; and the other ports of the Syrian coast have made their submission. In Damascus the revolution is in full swing. . . .'

At the beginning of the following year the Porte made up its mind publicly to denounce Mehmed 'Ali and Ibrahim as rebels, and to deprive them of their offices. On May 4, 1832, the Reis Effendi informs Stratford Canning that the Porte requests the subjects of all Friendly Powers to abstain from acts likely to assist the outlaws. 'His Majesty the Grand Signor' (I), he adds, 'has been pleased to confer the Governments of Jeddah, of Egypt, and of Candia on Sirdar Ekrem of Natolia; the Firmans containing the sentence of death on the rebels Mehmet Ali and his son Ibrahim have been published in all places.' In the struggle between the Sultan and his ambitious vassal, which was not definitely at an end until 1841, the fate of Cyprus was for a time involved. The quotation that follows is

from Engel, whose book,[1] published in 1841, has already been referred to:

'When the Ptolemys wanted to found in Egypt a first-class state, the possession of Syria and Cyprus was an indispensable condition. To this end strove the Arabian conquerors of Egypt; and Mohammad Ali, the founder of the latest Egyptian kingdom, holds the possession of these countries also a necessity, without which he cannot assure the independence and stability of his realm. Without these countries Egypt cannot have a fleet: without a fleet it is continually open to attack. . . . Mohammad Ali could not be content to found in Egypt a subordinate state, and insisted, after his victories over the Porte in the summer of 1832, on including in the conditions of peace the cession of Egypt, Syria, Crete and Cyprus as well. But the Porte offered to leave the two islands in pawn to England as the price of negotiating peace.[2] England, indeed, declined to intervene, but the Viceroy of Egypt was nevertheless obliged, in the peace concluded through the mediation of Russia on May 5, 1833, to abandon his claims on Cyprus, though he kept Crete. An exchange might have suited him better, but he was perhaps satisfied with the hope that the possession of Cyprus also could not much longer escape him, and at a cheaper price.'[3]

[1] cf. Appendix I.

[2] Also as security for a loan desired by the Porte. Mytilene, too, was included in the offer, for the details of which cf. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[3] *Excerpta*, p. 462.

And Cobham adds :

'While Engel was still writing, the Sublime Porte was preparing a fresh surprise for the long-suffering Cypriots. Lord Malmesbury (*Memoirs*, i., 125) under date of October 5, 1840, writes : "It is reported that the terms offered by the Sultan to the leaders of Mehemet Ali are as follows: To Soliman Pasha (Colonel Sèves) and his son the island of Cyprus for inheritance as a Pashalik ; to Mahmoud Pasha the Pashalik of Tripoli . . . but that they have all refused, and acquainted Mehemet with the proposals made to them." '[1]

Towards the end of the decade the energies which Mahmud II, despite the ceaseless disturbances of his reign, devoted to the reform of the internal administration of the Empire began to bear fruit in Cyprus. In 1837 Mahmud granted to a deputation sent to the capital by the Archbishop, Panaretos, a decree fixing the total annual tribute of the island, exclusive of local expenses and the pay of certain officials, at 3,179,082 piastres.[2] In 1838 he issued a Firman establishing an uniform system of provincial government. Mahmud died on July 1, 1839; but his son, 'Abdu'l Mejid, continued his work by the promulgation, on November 3 of the same year, of the Khatt-i-Sherîf (lit. August Rescript) of Gül-Khané, otherwise known as the Tanzimat, a charter

[1] *Excerpta*, p. 461.

[2] Hackett, p. 231 ; Philippos Georgiou.

which guaranteed the lives and property of all Ottoman subjects, irrespective of race or religion, and regulated the incidence and collection of the taxes. As regards Cyprus, the practice of leasing the island to the highest bidder was abolished, and a salaried governor was appointed instead.[1] The Governor of Cyprus, whose emoluments were now fixed at 120,000 piastres per annum,[2] received the title of Qaimaqam, and a Council, known as the Divan, was formed to assist him. The Divan at first comprised eight members besides the Qaimaqam, namely four Turkish officials, the Archbishop, an elder of the Orthodox community, and representatives of the Armenians and the Maronites. Its membership was subsequently increased to thirteen.[3] With justice does Engel remark: 'Among the important innovations introduced in the last few years into the Ottoman Empire with a view of maintaining its integrity, and especially among those which it owes to the activity and intelligence of Rashid Pasha, we must mention a reorganization of Cyprus.' [4]

Among the signs of the times was the institution at Larnaca of a Sanitary Department for Cyprus, under the direction of a Frenchman, Dr. Michaud. The Department furnished regular weekly bulletins, and generally seemed

[1] Hackett, p. 193.

[2] Mas Latrie, *L'Ile de Chypre, Sa situation présente*, &c., p. 83.

[3] Hackett, p. 193, n. See also below, p. 218.

[4] *Excerpta*, p. 463.

active and energetic in dealing with Quarantine regulations, an important matter in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The central Government began, moreover, to exercise closer control over its local representatives, as is shown by the following communication from the Grand Vizier to the Governor of Cyprus (T):

'Some time ago you complained that the English merchants in Cyprus were not paying the nine per cent. on merchandise which they exported. Thereupon the English Ambassador asked for a report on the matter from the British Consul in Cyprus, who replied that the English merchants are only called upon to pay an export duty of three per cent. on goods purchased at a Port that have already paid import duty.

'His Excellency the English Ambassador, having brought this reply to the notice of the Porte by means of a Diplomatic Note (*Takrir*), has asked that the Porte may direct that the stipulations of the commercial Convention [1] be executed to the letter. . . .

'Indeed, it is not permissible to exact from the English merchants dues which the treaty does not authorize. You will therefore demand from them on goods bought in a Port, which have already paid import duty, no more than an export duty of three per cent., in accordance with the tariff. You will further take care not to hinder the English merchants in this respect, and to avoid all further cause for complaint. That is

[1] Concluded in 1838.

the purpose of this letter, with which you will comply.

'REOUF.

'23 Rebi'ul Akhir, 1256,
'[*June* 23, 1840].'

An interesting little episode of the operations on the Syrian coast, carried out under Sir Charles Napier in 1840 in support of the Sultan against Ibrahim Pasha, is revealed in the following document:

'HER B.M. SHIP "BENBOW," OFF RUAD,[1]
'*September* 27, 1840.

'SIR,

Having taken possession of the Island of Ruad in the name of the Sultan, I have been under the necessity of sending away as much of the refugee population (which amounts to some thousands) as possible, there being no cover nor water for them, besides being extremely embarrassing to military operations. I have determined to send them to Cyprus and I have promised them that no charge of any kind shall be made against them either for Quarantine dues or passage money. And I have therefore to request that you will

[1] For a description of the small Syrian island of Ruad, which lies opposite the town of Tartûs (Tortosa), cf. H. C. Luke, *The Fringe of the East*, London, 1913, pp. 260–1. Famous in Phoenician times as Aradus, the island played an important part during the Crusades, and again came into notice during the Great European War. On January 22, 1915, a party (including the present writer) was landed there from H.M.S. *Doris*; and in September, 1915, the island was occupied by the French.

take the proper steps to make certain of my promise being fulfilled to the letter. Should I find hereafter, that it has not been attended to, it will be my sacred duty to represent the circumstances to my Admiral and to the Sublime Porte.

'I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your most obedient Servant,

'Houston Stewart
'Captain & Senior Officer
'of H.B.M. Ships off Ruad.

'To Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Cyprus.'

In 1841 Antonio Vondiziano was succeeded in his Consular office, which he had held for more than forty years, by Dr. James Lilburn.

The following despatch from the Ambassador in Constantinople to the Consul in Cyprus is not without an element of humour :

'Therapia,
'*ce* 30 *Avril*, 1841.

'Monsieur,

'Je viens de recevoir une lettre officielle de Monsieur Martorana, Chargé d'Affaires de S.M. le Roi des Deux Siciles pres la S. Porte, dans laquelle il me mande que Le Roi Son Auguste Maître à destitué le Sieur Cefala, Vice-Consul Napolitain à Chypres, mais que ce Monsieur refuse de consigner les archives et les sceaux du Vice-Consulat à Monsieur Matey nommé à sa place. Le Sieur Cefala étant natif de Cefalonie et par consequent sujet anglais, il me prie de mettre un terme à son étrange conduite.

'Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, d'insister auprès de Monsieur Cefala qu'il vous remette sans perte de temps les archives et les sceaux du Vice-Consulat Napolitain afin que vous les consigniez à Monsieur Matey, et je vous autorise de vous en emparer même par force en cas de difficultés de la part du Sieur Cefala.

'Je suis, &c.,

'PONSONBY.'

A letter from the French Consul in Cyprus to his British colleague recalls an interesting survival from the Middle Ages :

'LARNACA,

'19 *Juin*, 1841.

'MONSIEUR & CHER COLLEGUE,

'Un nommé Gerasimo Marcopolo, Commandant un navire chypriote, se permet de porter pavillon de Jérusalem, quoiqu'il n'ait ni diplôme, ni rôle qui lui confère ce droit.

'J'allais prendre les mesures nécéssaires pour lui faire enlever son pavillon et demander sa punition de la part des autorités locales, quand j'ai appris que cet individu se trouve personellement sous la protection de votre Consulat. J'ai jugé convenable dès lors de m'addresser à vous, Monsieur & cher Collegue, en vous priant de vouloir bien prendre vous même à l'égard du Capitaine Gerasimo les mesures de rigueur que doit necessiter le port abusif d'un pavillon auquel il est étranger. . . .'

The flag in question, azure a cross potent between four crosses crosslet gules, was inherited by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, together with other privileges, from the mediæval *Custos Terrae Sanctae*, whose successor he was considered to be, the Ottoman Government expressly recognizing his right to maintain a merchant marine.[1] Owing to the French Protectorate over the exercise of the Latin rite in the Levant, the French Consul would naturally be concerned in any question as to the misuse of the Patriarchal ensign, which continued in use among Cypriote caiques owned by Latins until the early days of the British Occupation.

In 1842 the French Consul had to announce to his colleagues the death of the Duke of Orleans :

' LARNACA,
' *le* 28 *Août*, 1842.

' MONSIEUR LE CONSUL,

' Une affreuse catastrophe vient de plonger dans le Deuil la famille Royale et la France entière. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, lancé hors de la voiture qui le conduisait à Neuilly, est mort dans l'après midi du 13 Juillet après quelques heures d'agonie.

' Le Consulat de France portera pendant trois jours son pavillon à mi-mat en signe de Deuil. Demain matin je ferai célébrer, à 9 heures, dans l'église de Larnaca un service funèbre pour la

[1] cf. Young, *Corps de droit Ottoman*, vol. ii ; Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, edn. of 1865, pp. 161–2, n. ; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

memoire du Prince, et je vous prie, Monsieur le Consul, de vouloir bien assister à cette triste cérémonie.'

In 1843 Dr. Lilburn died, and was succeeded by Mr. Niven Kerr.

After the capture of Famagusta by the Turks in 1571, this celebrated fortress, even now one of the finest examples of mediæval military architecture that survive, fell rapidly from its previous splendour. The fortifications remained, and still remain, intact; but the city within the walls, which once rivalled Venice in wealth and magnificence, dwindled to the condition of a Turkish village, from which the Gothic churches, one for every day of the year, reared their delicate arches and their slender shafts.

In view of Famagusta's distinguished past and historical importance, a report on its condition in 1843, written by the British Consular Agent, Brunoni, for the information of the new Consul at Larnaca, is of some interest:

'FAMAGUSTA,
'*November* 20, 1843 (I).

'SIR,

'I have the honour to forward to you a description of the present state of the city and harbour of Famagusta.

'The city of Famagusta is the principal fortress of the island of Cyprus, and of the present Ottoman dominions, notwithstanding its neglected condition and its partial abandonment.

'Its harbour, the only one, is the best of the thirty-six anchorages on the coasts of the said island, although choked with mud and ill-kept.

'This city was once celebrated for the countless assaults of the enemy which it withstood, but it is now inhabited by a miserable population of 500 Turks of both sexes. The town is small, long rather than circular, with strong walls built on the solid rock, many bastions and counter-scarps which are in bad condition. The deep fosse still exists around the town, excavated from rock partly hard, partly sandstone; it was made in olden days by the Venetians, who had not time, however, to complete it by connecting it with the sea. There are also outer walls around the moat. At the present day two town gates are in use, one on the land side with a draw-bridge, the other at the harbour. There are two forts, one, on the land side, facing the gardens of Marashia (Varosha), the other, the bigger one, on the sea side; the latter is a regular citadel, surrounded by the water of the sea, which enters by a canal under the walls and is crossed by a bridge. This citadel not only defends the harbour, but, if necessary, could also command the town. Although now in bad repair, lacking cannon, ammunition, supplies, and troops to defend it in case of a surprise attack, Famagusta could readily be rendered strong and impregnable by a European Power.

'Its harbour, although not large, would be capable of accommodating a number of men-of-war and merchantmen, were it dredged and put

in repair. At present only small vessels enter the harbour, and occasionally large ones if empty. The depth of water at the entrance, and in some parts of the harbour itself, is not more than 12 or 12½ Venetian feet. In the anchorage outside the harbour is a reef, of which vessels entering must beware.

'On the city walls and in the forts only very few cannon of heavy calibre remain; such as there are date from Venetian times and are for the most part useless.

'The town has more than three hundred churches, of which the majority are now ruinous. The most important are S. Sophia and S. Nicholas, which are in good condition. The ruined Royal Palace, the great Square of S. Sophia, and many other edifices dating from the glorious days of Christian rule, bear testimony to the bygone splendour and riches of Famagusta.

'There are a Civil Vice-Governor, a Qadi or Justice of the Peace, a Commandant of the Place, and a Commandant of the troops, consisting of 200 artillery-men.

'Formerly the garrison consisted of a thousand Sipahis, not including the Timariots, who lived on the tithes of the villages granted to them *ab antiquo* by the Porte, and who were obliged in time of war to come into the town and take part in its defence.

'The Governor of Famagusta is paid a salary of 500 piastres Turkish a month from the public Treasury, and also enjoys certain other emoluments. His jurisdiction extends over 8 villages

of the District of Famagusta, and over 37 villages of the District of the Karpass where he has an Agent.

'The Qadi or Judge has no fixed salary, but receives Court fees and other fees customary among the Turks, which he shares with the Grand Qadi of Nicosia. His jurisdiction extends likewise over the Districts of the Karpass and Famagusta.

'The Commandant of artillery and the Commandant of the Place have jurisdiction over their troops, who are scattered over the Districts of the Mesaoria, the Karpass, and Famagusta.

The suburbs of the citadel are known as Marashia, and are thickly populated. The inhabitants are rich, and derive their wealth from the countless gardens which are irrigated by sweet well-water, and from their potteries. In the potteries they produce earthenware, made of a certain whitish-yellow clay, which has a large sale within the island and on the neighbouring coasts.

'The bulk of the madder root of Cyprus comes from the lands around Famagusta and the surrounding villages. There is abundance of onions, melons, cucumbers, pomegranates and every kind of fruit, which are sent inland and also exported from the island.

'If the harbour were dredged and the city restored, then the cereals of the Mesaoria and its neighbourhood, its abundance of yellow and white silk, its cotton, wool, liquorice, sesame, barley, beans, vetches, and other products would

render life in Famagusta most pleasant, would enrich the commercial houses and the public Treasury, and would greatly benefit the coasts of Syria and Karamania.

'With genuine esteem,

'I have the honour to remain, Sir,

'Your obedient Servant,

'PIETRO BRUNONI.

'Niven Kerr, Esqre.,
'H.B.M. Consul, Larnaca.'

A letter to the Consul from the Bishop of Gibraltar discusses what was probably the first proposal for an English school in Cyprus :

'CAIRO,
'*January* 4, 1845.

'MY DEAR SIR,

'Your letter on behalf of the Education of the Greek population of Cyprus reached me before I left Malta, but I was prevented from answering it immediately partly by pressure of business and partly from the difficulty which I feel in answering it as I wish. I will most readily use my influence with one or two of the societies in London, but in the present state of their operations with regard to the Mediterranean I fear I shall find some difficulty in inducing them to afford assistance. The only way in which it seems likely that they might be prevailed upon to act, would be to establish a School or Schools upon the same principles as those which have been established for the Greeks at

Syra by Mr. Hildner of the Church Missionary Society.

'He has now carried on those Schools (containing about 600 children) for several years without any complaint of proselytism, and when I was at Syra the Greek Bishop expressed his obligation for the education which they were giving to his people.

'If these are the kind of Schools which you think would be acceptable at Cyprus I will do my best to induce that Society to establish one or more. But I am sure that it would be made a necessary condition that the School should be placed under English Direction. On this point perhaps I may have misunderstood your views.

'I shall therefore be glad to hear from you again on my return to Malta, which will be in about five or six weeks.

'Believe me, dear Sir,

'Yours faithfully,

'G. Gibraltar.'

In the remarkable correspondence which follows will be found a tale truly typical of Levantine life, as it has not ceased to be even now. The statements of the monk Nicodemus and of the Patriarch of Antioch were forwarded by the British Consul at Beirut to the Consul in Cyprus, accompanied by a letter which will be quoted at the end of the correspondence.

The letter of the monk Nicodemus is as follows:

'Beirut,
'*October* 19, 1846. (I)

'To Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Beirut.

'Illustrious Sir,

'I, the respectfully undersigned Nicodemus Pilarino, Ionian subject, have the honour humbly to represent as follows :

'From the attached certificate of baptism, recognized by divers Consular Authorities, you will see that I am a native of Cephalonia, and that my name was Nicholas Pilarino. From my earliest youth a sailor, in due course I became a Captain, and for a long time commanded a vessel of my own. Having conceived, however, a distaste for a calling so full of perils, I had long decided upon abandoning it for ever in order to spend the remainder of my life in peace and tranquillity. Thus chancing to find myself in the island of Cyprus, having with me my whole fortune of more than thirty thousand piastres,[1] the price of my vessel and of my other property, I proceeded straightway to the monastery of Cyprus dedicated to the Virgin of Kykkos,[2] where I made my profession and became a monk under the name of Nicodemus. Both the Abbot as well as the other brethren of this monastery knew that I possessed money, for at their request I gave to the monastery a certain sum, keeping

[1] A piastre at this time was worth about 2*d*.

[2] The monastery of Kykkos, in the Paphos Mountains, is the principal monastery in the island. It was founded about 1100.

the rest for my own needs. After I had dwelt in the monastery for some time, the Abbot despatched me on several journeys into Asia on the business of the convent, and later transferred me to Tripoli in Syria in order to watch over its interests in those parts.

'On this voyage from the monastery to Tripoli, where I was to remain for a long time, I took my money with me, so that it might serve me in all circumstances. For seven years I dwelt in the town of Tripoli, and in that time I was able to collect and remit to the monastery a sum of sixty thousand piastres, as may be seen from my book and from the receipts in my hands. But as regards my private fortune, which I had with me, since I feared that it might be stolen, I determined to render it safe; and therefore, four years ago, I bought with it a house in Tripoli, which I caused to be repaired, arranged, and enlarged.

'According to the bills, the house cost me in all more than twenty-five thousand piastres. I lived in one of the rooms, and let the remainder, whereby I barely covered my expenses. While I was living quietly in this manner, peacefully and harmlessly, as befitted a churchman, suddenly and without cause there arose against me His Holiness the Patriarch of Antioch and his suffragan, the Bishop of Tripoli, who commanded me to leave Tripoli and abandon my house, and to return to my monastery of Kykkos. And for the last two years the said prelates have prevented me from working either for myself or for the monas-

tery, to the considerable detriment of the latter.

'I have therefore, as an Ionian subject, come here to solicit your protection against the wrong which His Holiness the Patriarch and his Bishop are doing me in compelling me to abandon and lose my house in Tripoli, bought and restored with the money earned by the sweat of my brow amid the perils of the sea. I am a poor monk, having nothing in this world except my house to keep me in my old age and to support me in case of sickness.

'If His Holiness the Patriarch and his Bishop insist on my leaving Tripoli, I am ready to go and to withdraw to my monastery; but in that case, on the grounds of law and of justice I ask that they should either pay me the value of my house, amounting to twenty-five thousand piastres, or should allow me to stay in Tripoli until I have found a purchaser at that sum, on which I could live in my monastery. I believe, Illustrious Sir, that this is a reasonable request, and I am sure that you will not abandon a poor Ionian subject to be the victim of injustice and persecution.

'I humbly beg you, therefore, to request your worthy Consular Agent in Tripoli, Mr. Catziflis, to lend me his help and protection, and to make the Patriarch and his Bishop to see the justice of my cause. . . .

'I have the honour to be,

'With profound respect,

'Your humble and devoted servant,

'N. Pilarino.'

The Patriarch's version, as given to the Consul, is as follows :

'BEIRUT,
'*February* 2, 1847 (G).

'SIR,

'We have received your letter by the monk Nicodemus Pilarino, and understand all that you are pleased to say about his claim.

'In consequence of the verbal communication which, through your Interpreter, you had made to us respecting this monk, and in order to confirm the friendship existing between us and yourself, we have done everything in our power to effect a suitable arrangement for him, that he may return to his monastery and perform his duty by obeying or submitting to the discipline of the Order and of his superiors.

'For these reasons we held a meeting of the clergy and Notables of our nation (at Beirut), in order to discuss and settle the affair of the monk in question, who was present at the meeting. We asked him about the house at Tripoli; he replied that the house was his, he having bought it with his own money. Those present at the meeting then stated that the house was the property of the monastery, having been bought with the money which the monk Nicodemus had collected from the charity of the Christians; and that it was not, therefore, his own property, as he pretended, and that he was not a merchant, who could gain money and thereby buy property. They observed, also, that when he bought the

house in question he paid a part of the price in ready money, which he had collected, and that the other part was paid afterwards from the same money.

'The monk Nicodemus then replied that what the members had said was perfectly true; but that he was now without money and could not return to his monastery in Cyprus.

'On learning this I, for the sake of Your Seigneury's friendship, ordered the Wakîl (trustee) of the monastery to pay him 4,500 piastres for his travelling and other expenses. The monk consented to this arrangement and agreed to receive the money and to consign to the Wakîl the Hojet (title-deeds) of the house and the other papers belonging to the monastery. Thereupon the monk Nicodemus kissed our hands in the presence of the members of the meeting, and we ordered the Wakîl to borrow the sum of Prs. 4,500, to pay it to the plaintiff, to enable him to go to his monastery, and be replaced by the newly appointed monk.

'The next day the money was ready, and yesterday we sent him a notice to come and receive the same, and consign the Hojet and other papers to the monk who has been appointed to fill his place. He refused to come, alleging that he had nothing to do with us; we sent for him a second time; he answered as before; we then sent our Secretary to persuade him to come; and at last he came to us. There were at our house our Brothers the Bishops and several notables of the communion. We told him that the money was

ready, and that he ought to receive it and transfer the title-deeds of the house in question and other papers, and then proceed to his monastery. He replied that he would neither receive the money nor consign the papers nor go out of Tripoli.

'We saw at once that the monk Nicodemus was a rebellious man, disobedient to his Patriarch, Bishops and notables of the Greek nation; but out of consideration to Your Seigneury we said nothing to him which might hurt his feelings.

'We beg leave to request that you will send to us a letter stating that the matter of the monk Nicodemus concerns the authorities of the Church and that Your Seigneury would not wish to interfere in religious matters, that you would not object to his being punished or reprimanded for his disobedience to his superiors, and that we should put into execution our lawful rights over this monk.

'Nicodemus has evidently disobeyed Your Seigneury's orders and our own by not fulfilling what he has promised; consequently, he deserves double punishment, both on your part and by ourselves.

'We beg to be favoured with an answer to the present communication.

'The Patriarch of Antioch,

'✠ Methodios.'

Here is the comment made on the affair by the Consul in Beirut, in sending the papers to the Consul in Cyprus:

'Beyrout,
'*March* 8, 1847.

'My dear Sir,

'The bearer of the present, Nicodemus Pilarino, a Greek monk, an Ionian subject, presented a memorial to Colonel Rose[1] in October last, of which I enclose a copy for your information, as well as of the reply of the Greek Patriarch to a letter addressed to him by Colonel Rose on the subject of the monk's claim.

'Both Colonel Rose and myself were of opinion that as the immediate Superiors of the monk Nicodemus reside at Cyprus, and as, in fact, the Greek Patriarch in Syria has no authority over the religious establishments at that Island, the proper course to be pursued in the matter was that Nicodemus should go to Cyprus, where his claim might be investigated.

'Allow me, therefore, to recommend his case to your kind attention. It, certainly, does seem extraordinary to me that the Ecclesiastical Authority here should have offered him four thousand five hundred piastres if all the money with which he purchased the house at Tripoli had been collected in the name of his Convent.'

On September 17, 1847, Pietro Loiso, British Consular Agent at Limasol, reports the arrival at that port of two Egyptian men-of-war, conveying Mehmed 'Ali, the Viceroy, on a visit of pleasure to the island he had hoped at one time to possess.

[1] The Consul's predecessor; afterwards Lord Strathnairn.

In somewhat curious juxtaposition are the two documents next in order. In the first, which is dated November 30, 1847, Consul Kerr is invited to attend at the Catholic Church in Larnaca a Te Deum in honour of Pope Pius IX, the ceremony being followed by fireworks; in the second, of June 30, 1848, the Sardinian Consul informs his British colleague that he has 'received orders from his Government to substitute for the blue flag the Italian tricolor, symbol of unity and independence for which Charles Albert of Savoy is now fighting on the fields of Lombardy.'

The relations between the Governor of Cyprus and the British Consular representative were generally friendly, and even cordial, as may be seen from these letters, written by the Pasha to Consul Kerr in 1848:

'Most Illustrious Friend, (G)

'We are infinitely grateful to you for having informed us of the act of the Molla of this town, who accepted a female apostate from Christianity without our knowledge and without presenting her, according to the Imperial intent, first to us and afterwards to the Council. This could only be done when, in the presence of the primates of her nation, the necessary questions had been put to her, and she then voluntarily embraced Islam.

'This step on the part of the Molla has caused us no small degree of dissatisfaction; it must be attributed, however, to his fanatical sentiments.

We shall not fail to make the necessary observations on this subject to him, that in future he may not do things contrary to the orders of the Sultan.

'With the expression of our particular and cordial friendship and love, we remain,

'The Governor of Cyprus,

'Isma'il Adil Pasha.

'Seraglio (*Satrapeion*) of Nicosia,
'*September* 10, 1264.'

'Most Illustrious and Revered Friend, (G)

'I received with unutterable joy your friendly letter, and saw, to my soul's delight, what you had written in my favour to your August Embassy, a copy of the answer to which I found enclosed. This is a striking proof of your peculiar friendship and love towards me, for which I offer you the tribute of my inexpressible gratitude. I beg also that you will be pleased to convey to your August Embassy my copious respects and the expression of my unbounded gratitude.

'I avail myself of this opportunity to confirm to you the most distinguished feelings of my high consideration.

'Prompt to your commands,

'The Governor of Cyprus,

'Isma'il Adil Pasha.

'Nicosia,
'*November* 13, 1264.'

In 1850 Stratford Canning circularized all Consular officers within the jurisdiction of his

Embassy to the effect that all slaves in the possession qf British subjects in the Levant were henceforth free, and that in future any British subject in Turkey trafficking in slaves would render himself liable, under the provisions of 6 & 7 Victoria, cap. 98, to be sent to Malta for trial.

The legal procedure to be adopted in the Consular Courts with regard to Ionian subjects is set forth in a despatch from the British Consul in Rhodes to the Vice-Consul at Larnaca, Cyprus having become a Vice-Consulate subordinate to Rhodes in 1849:

'Rhodes,
'*le* 10 *Août*, 1852.

'Monsieur le Vice Consul,

'Des representations, à diverses époques, ayant été adressees au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté par l'Assemblée Legislative des Iles Ioniennes, demontrant l'inconvenient et l'injustice que les citoyens Ioniens sont exposés à subir dans des cas ou les Consuls de Sa Majesté dans le Levant refusent de mettre à éxécution les sentences des Tribunaux Ioniens, ou de juger des differends entre les Ioniens d'apres les lois Ioniennes; j'ai à vous requerir pour l'avenir que toutes les fois que vous serez appelé à juger des contestations entre des Ioniens, ou de mettre en exécution quelque jugement obtenu dans les cours des Iles Ioniennes, de le faire autant qu'il sera en votre pouvoir, dans le premier cas, à la lettre, et d'après l'esprit des Lois Ioniennes, et dans le dernier, sans ouvrir de nouveau ou juger

de tels cas, par les lois Anglaises, ou par celles d'aucun autre pays.

'Afin de vous mettre plus à même d'exécuter ces instructions, le Haut Lord Commissaire des Iles Ioniennes sera dirigé de vous transmettre des Copies Duplicates des lois en vigueur dans les Etats Ioniens, and vous aurez la bonté de me faire savoir quand ces documents vous parviendront.

'Agréez, Monsieur le Vice Consul, l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.

'NIVEN KERR,
'Consul.

'Monsieur A. Palma,
'Vice-Consul de S.M. Britannique, Chypre.'

A despatch from Rhodes to the Vice-Consul, of August 24, 1852, refers to an issue of revolutionary paper money in Sicily :

'A la suite de la demande que le Prince Carini, Ministre Napolitain près de la Cour de Londres, a faite au Comte Malmesbury, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, je vous previens que le papier-monnaie, ou assignats nommés "Aliquoti" mis en circulation pendant la Revolution de Sicile, n'est pas reconnu par le Gouvernement Napolitain, et je dois vous inviter de donner à ce fait la publicité que vous croirez nécéssaire dans votre jurisdiction Vice-Consulaire.'

In 1853 the name of Lady Hester Stanhope appears once more, and for the last time, in these

papers, in the melancholy connexion of a meeting of her many creditors held in Beirut after her death.

The Russo-Turkish conflict of 1854, which developed into the Crimean War, had serious results in Greece. King Otho and Queen Amalia, who, it has been said, loved their adopted country not always wisely, but too well, considered that the time had come for the incorporation of Epirus and Thessaly within the Greek Kingdom. Revolutionary bands of Greek 'Antartis' on the Turkish frontier were financed from Athens and led by officers of the Greek Army who resigned their Commissions for the purpose; while Otho broke off diplomatic relations with the Sultan, and would have gone to war but for the occupation of the Piraeus by Great Britain and France from 1854 until 1857. Throughout the negotiations preceding the war Stratford Canning, who had now become Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, provided Turkish statesmen with the necessary 'stiffening,' and in the following circular, addressed to his Consuls, the 'Great Elchi' gave formal denial to certain rumours which had been circulated by the war party in Greece :

'Constantinople,
'*le* 29 *Mars*, 1854.

'Monsieur,

'Il est venu à ma connaissance que les Hellènes envahisseurs des Provinces Frontières de la Turquie excitent les sujets Grecs du Sultan à la Rebellion en declarant que le Gouvernement

de Sa Majesté et le Gouvernement de France sont prêts à les aider pour renverser l'Autorité du Sultan. Je suis aussi informé que de pareilles manœuvres sont employées pour persuader que les Ambassades de France et d'Angleterre donneront protection à tous les sujets Hellenes en Turquie, aussitôt que la Porte, en consequence de sa rupture diplomatique et commerciale avec la Grece, aura signifiée son intention de les expulser des domaines du Sultan.

'Comme des suppositions de cette sorte ont pour but d'encourager de fausses espérances, d'egarer les personnes bien intentionnés, d'aggraver mechamment les maux insepparables d'un état de guerre, je m'empresse de vous donner l'assurance positive que ces assertions sont absolument denuées de fondement.

'Bien ignorans, en verité, et bien credules doivent être ceux qui peuvent fixer un instant leur espoir sur des mensonges non moins incompatibles avec le bon sens qu'avec les faits !

'Mais de pareils esprits, malheureusement il y en a dans tous les pays, et en plus grand nombre peut-être dans celui-ci, ou la voie des informations publiques n'est encore qu'imparfaitement ouverte.

'Vous savez aussi bien que moi que l'Angleterre et la France sont parfaitement d'accord avec le Sultan dans sa noble resistance contre une injuste et violente agression.

'Il s'ensuit necessairement que les deux Gouvernements alliés doivent considerer avec un chagrin indigné autant qu'avec reprobation un mouvement qui ne s'opère qu'en faveur de

la Russie, qui n'a pas même le mérite d'être spontané ; qui pourrait, en se developpant, embarraser la Porte et ses Alliés, mais qui n'offre qu'une perspective de malheurs, et pas d'autre, à ceux qui risquent leur vie pour une illusion aussi vaine.

'On doit avoir pitié du sort de tant d'innocentes familles,malheureusement enveloppées dans les consequences d' une Politique inconsiderée et sans principes ; mais il ne peut y avoir aucun rapport entre nous et leurs Gouvernans, et nous devons exprimer, sans les deguiser en aucune sorte, les sentimens que la conduite d'un parti insensé n'a pas manqué d'inspirer.

'Je vous prie de ne negliger aucune occasion convenable pour faire connâitre le contenu de cette circulaire à tous ceux qui pourraient se trouver dans le cas d'etre egarés par les fausses assertions qu'elle denonce.

'Stratford de Redcliffe.'

Even Cyprus was to some extent involved in the general ferment, for early in 1854 there was issued in Athens an anonymous pamphlet urging the Orthodox subjects of the Porte to rebellion, which was reputed to have been written by one Francoudes, then head master of the High School in Nicosia and a resident in the Archbishop's palace.[1] The authorship of the pamphlet was never proved, but the suspicions of the leading Turks in Cyprus were aroused against the Christians, and there was talk of their being disarmed.

[1] cf. Hackett, p. 234.

On February 24, 1854, the Governor of Cyprus wrote to the British Vice-Consul (T):

'I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter concerning a small pamphlet containing treasonable matter, which was handed to me by Mr. Laffon, and which you desire to have sent to you, as well as of your kind expressions of friendship. It is needless to say that this is but another proof of the strong bonds of friendship which unite our two countries. The pamphlet in question was handed to me some days ago by Mr. Laffon, an action most creditable to that gentleman. I must state that the pamphlet contains some very inflammable matter, the publication of which might cause trouble both now and in the future. Whoever published it should be punished. As this question might lead to trouble and misunderstanding among the people, as a measure of precaution I at once summoned a meeting of the principal Moslems and Christians, the officials and members of the Administrative Council, and placed the whole matter before them. After grave deliberations it was arranged that by the instrumentality of the Archbishop the pamphlets should be collected, and they have now been handed over to me, and private and public investigations are taking place. I am sending one copy of the pamphlet by the first mail steamer to His Excellency the Vali of the Archipelago, and another copy herewith to you. A third copy has been handed to Mr. Laffon for the French Consul. The Mudir of Tuzla (Larnaca) has

been instructed to make private and public investigations concerning the publisher of the pamphlet, and I venture to beg you and the French Consul to render all assistance possible.

'The Governor of the Island of Cyprus,

'MEHMED SHERIF.'

On April 2 the Consul in Rhodes wrote to the Vice-Consul at Larnaca :

'J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que j'ai transmis à Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur à Constantinople une copie de votre office No. 8 en date 7 du mois passé relativement à la distribution des brochures en langue Grecque que dernièrement a eu lieu à Cypre.

'Son Excellence Ismail Pasha, Gouverneur Général de l'Archipel, m'a informé que le Pasha de Cypre ne lui ecrit rien au sujet du disarmement des Chrétiens residents dans cette île, et que telle mesure ne peut pas avoir lieu sans que les Autorités locales soient *ad hoc* autorisées par la Sublime Porte de la mettre en éxécution.'

A *canard* published at about this time in Greece to the effect that Austria and Prussia were contemplating an alliance with Russia against England, Turkey, and France provoked, on April 9, a further letter from the Pasha to the Vice-Consul (T) :

'I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter concerning the announcement made by certain persons of a so-called alliance concluded by Aus-

tria and Prussia with Russia to combat Turkey, England, and France, the incorrectness of this announcement, and the copy of an article from the Athenian Press together with some observations on your part. The article from the Press clearly shows the falseness of the announcement, and I should certainly attach no importance to it, but I am much obliged to you for your kindness in pointing it out to me. In a special letter from the Mudir of Tuzla I have been informed that the Swedish Consul brought to light this false piece of news, and I have been asked whether he should be pressed for details. I have to-day sent to the Mudir an official letter for the Swedish Consul, asking where this news came from, in what paper it was written, and how he obtained the information. On receiving an answer I will at once inform you of its purport.

'The Governor of the Island of Cyprus,

'MEHMED SHERIF.'

On October 2, 1855, the Pasha writes to the Vice-Consul to inform him that he has commanded three days of illumination and feasting to celebrate the capture of Sebastopol.

In a despatch dated November 24 of the same year, the Consul in Rhodes desires the Cyprus Consulate to make inquiry into the landing at Larnaca of a number of black female slaves, rumours of which had recently reached him, and to ascertain 'if the Consular Agent of Prussia is he who furnishes the capital for this shameful commerce.'

On April 7, 1856, the French Consul invites his colleagues to attend a Te Deum 'en action de grâce de l'heureuse délivrance de Sa Majesté l'Impératrice Eugénie, qui a donné à la France un Prince Impérial.'

In a despatch of April 26, 1856, the Consul in Rhodes transmitted to Cyprus copies of two important documents. The first was the Khatt-i-Humayun ('Illustrious Rescript'), issued by 'Abdu'l Mejid on February 18; the second, the Treaty of Paris, signed on March 30. The two documents are not without relation to one another; for article 9 of the Treaty, which aimed at settling the issues raised by the Crimean War, declared that the Powers were so strongly impressed by 'the high value of this communication' (*sc.* the Khatt-i-Humayun) that they disclaimed the right to intervene between the Sultan and his subjects.

A translation of the text of the Khatt-i-Humayun was laid before Parliament in 1856, and illustrates the theoretical excellence of Turkish edicts and laws. Its primary object was to confirm the provisions of the Khatt-i-Sherîf of Gül-Khané, a charter that had long ceased to be respected; but as regards the majority of its enactments, it was put into practice almost as little as its predecessor. One of the abuses abolished by the Khatt-i-Sherîf of Gül-Khané in 1839 was the farming of taxes; in 1841 that system was avowedly reintroduced. In 1856, tax-farming was again disavowed in theory, but largely maintained in practice. It is well

to remember, however, that the opposition to the abolition of tax-farming, both in 1839 and 1856, came from the Christian *sarrafs*, or money-changers, of Constantinople;[1] and that the system is still considered by many European economists to be that best suited, at all events as regards the tithe, to certain portions of the Ottoman Empire. Further the Khatt, in the words of *Turkey in Europe*, 'proclaimed perfect toleration and the absolute equality of all religions, and enumerated a whole catalogue of reforms, administrative, financial, ecclesiastical, and judicial. Many of these, however, came into collision with Greek interests, notably the provisions which assigned fixed stipends to the clergy instead of allowing them to take what dues they could from their flocks. It is said that when the Archbishop of Ismidt, after hearing the imperial rescript read, saw it replaced in its silken envelope, he ejaculated, "Pray God that it may stay there!"'

The extent to which, in the opinion of the Ottoman Government, the Khatt was applied was indicated in a Memorandum furnished by Fuad Pasha to Lord Lyons in 1867, and subsequently laid before Parliament.

In the year 1859 Sultan 'Abdu'l Mejid contemplated a tour of his dominions, which was to include a visit to Cyprus. On the occasion of this anticipated visit, the Orthodox population of the island prepared an address for presentation

[1] cf. Sir C. Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, 2nd edition, 1908, p. 292.

to the Sultan, for the text of which I am indebted to the kindness of the present Archbishop of Cyprus, His Beatitude Kyrillos III, and of his archivist, Mr. K. Myrianthopoulos. The document, which I translate in full, is the only direct communication between the Cypriote Christians and the Sultan which we have on record; and it is instructive as illustrating the relations subsisting between them. When due allowance is made for the obsequiousness of diction which would be expected by the Sovereign from his subjects in a memorial of this kind, the Address does not disclose that the Christians of Cyprus were labouring under very serious misgovernment. With one exception, the grievances of the islanders have to do with agricultural pests, and in the case of the exception the memorialists are not intimidated from complaining against a harsh tax-gatherer.

In the event, 'Abdu'l Mejid did not visit Cyprus, and the address was delivered to him in Constantinople through the Oecumenical Patriarch, Kyrillos VII. The text is as follows (G):

'Your Majesty!

'Fortunate and thrice happy to-day is to be considered this island, which so gladly receives her august Sovereign.

'We, too, are happy and fortunate in being judged worthy of the favour of an Imperial visit, and in enjoying the sight of our most beloved, most gracious, and most serene monarch. Thrilled with infinite joy and gratitude, we first

return from the depths of our hearts and souls prayers and supplications to Almighty God to safeguard and protect your Imperial Majesty as the apple of His eye, to lavish on your Majesty many happy years, and to bring your Majesty auspiciously and safely back to the brilliant Queen of cities.

'Secondly, we humbly bow down before your sublime Majesty, and offer, in the name of the whole island, our most humble devotion, expressing with the deepest respect our cordial faith and affection, and our gratitude for the royal boons which your Majesty has graciously bestowed on us as on the remainder of your Majesty's faithful subjects.

'The new regulations, salutary for the people,[1] which by your most philanthropic Majesty's sublime desire and intention have been promulgated through the whole of the immense Empire for the weal of your Majesty's faithful subjects have also acted in this our fatherland in an advantageous manner, and have conferred many great benefits.

'We confess, most august King, the favour, we declare the royal mercy, we loudly proclaim the beneficence; for, if we kept silence, the very stones would cry out.

'But our country, most merciful King, has painful wounds, wounds by which she is continually scourged, from which she groans and suffers pain. She can hope to be cured of these wounds by none other, after God, but by her

[1] i.e. the Khatt-i-Humayun.

powerful and most merciful King. And as we know that your Majesty not only rejoices at seeing the progress and prosperity of your subjects, but, like a celestial angel, pours healing balm on wounds and sores and accords kingly kindness to the sufferer, we therefore venture with anxious hearts to place our great sufferings before your Majesty.

'The principal and greatest evil of this country, your Majesty, is the locust, the accursed insect which from the earliest times has yearly laid the island desolate, and has caused myriads of poor people to grieve and to lament. Yearly it devours the fruit of our labour, devours the wheat and the barley and the vineyards, and oftentimes even the olive groves and every plant and tree. And owing to this havoc thousands of farmers are ruined and become destitute, while their laments and groans resound from one end of the island to the other.

'In vain have our central Council and the leaders of the people and the inhabitants striven year by year, and spent unsparingly, for its extermination. In vain have some of our Governors laboured, through the farmers and others, to destroy the monster, many times even oppressing the farmers thereby. The present administrator of the island, our dearly beloved Governor, has indeed striven, with the members of the Council and the leaders of the people, for the destruction of the locust in a more measured and considerate manner. Unfortunately, at the time when the locust campaign must of necessity

be proceeded with, the farmers are engaged either in sowing their lands or with the harvest. And if they come out to destroy locusts, either the lands remain unsown or the crops that the locust has spared remain unreaped and ungathered.

'Together with this great locust plague there has also appeared in our country for some years past, tormenting the unfortunate inhabitants, the vine disease and the silkworm disease. And thus our condition has become so hard, pitiful, and miserable owing to these scourges, especially to the locust, that we have not the means to erect school buildings and to maintain decent and suitable educational establishments such as others, in other provinces under your Majesty's august sway, are happy to enjoy.

'These matters, most merciful and beneficent King, we submit with tears in our eyes and with humble hearts to your most philanthropic Majesty, invoking your mercy, because none else on earth but a powerful kingly arm can exterminate the disastrous insect from the island and bring joy and happiness to thousands of people now in distress.

'Another misfortune now hangs over the island, that of the arrears of taxes. Five months ago an envoy from Constantinople arrived in Cyprus in order to collect and bring in the arrears of revenue, a reasonable and just thing. It is the duty of every faithful subject to pay conscientiously whatever he owes to the Imperial Treasury. But the hard, heavy, and unjust manner, inconsistent with his high instructions, with

which this envoy behaved, has brought many people into deep embarrassment. We are quite willing, if need be, to give the necessary information in evidence of our just complaint against him.

'Yea, most excellent Monarch! We have the firm conviction that your royal presence in our country will leave beneficial traces; and this conviction is so deeply impressed upon us, that not only we, but the generations after us, will bless your Majesty's august name, and will with enthusiasm remember this blessed hour and day, on which your Majesty has been pleased to set foot on the soil of Cyprus.

'Long live his Majesty our most serene Emperor and King! Long live the most revered monarch, Sultan Abdul Mejid our master! May his glory and fame increase! May the might of his beneficent Majesty be exalted by the All-Highest!

'In Cyprus, the 22nd October, 1859.'

In October 1861, the Vice-Consul had to complain to the Ambassador, Bulwer, of the inertia of Khairu'llah Pasha, the Governor of Cyprus:

'I have the honour to report to Your Excellency that Hairullah Pasha, the Governor of this Island, has of late neglected public business to such an extent as to cause great confusion in the administration and severe pecuniary losses and inconvenience to several of Her Majesty's subjects.

'This Pasha is now in such an enfeebled state both of mind and body, owing to his dissipated habits, that he is utterly unfit for the important post he occupies, and unless speedily removed, the consequences are likely to be very serious, both Christians and Turks being equally dissatisfied with his administration.'

From a despatch addressed by the Vice-Consul to the Ambassador on November 18, 1861, it appears that a change in the Constitution of Cyprus took place in that year. By the change in question the island was withdrawn from the Pashalik of Rhodes and created an independent Mutessariflik under the immediate jurisdiction of the Porte, an arrangement which, as we shall see, was reversed in 1868, to be reverted to in 1870.

In December 1861, in consequence of this change, the Cyprus Vice-Consulate became independent of the jurisdiction of the Consulate in Rhodes.

The Vice-Consul's annual report for 1862 contains the following interesting sketch of the Cypriote people:

'The Cypriots are of a quiet and inoffensive disposition—they are sociable and hospitable, and remarkably fond of pleasure. But they are naturally lazy and given to idleness—they waste much of their time in their cafés and are great frequenters of the fairs which are held at short intervals in different parts of the island—they are

frugal and temperate in their living, coarse bread, cheese, olives, and vegetables forming the ordinary food of the peasantry—yet owing to the abundance and cheapness of wine drunkenness is not uncommon amongst them. Brigandage, burglaries, and assassinations are so rare as to be almost unknown in Cyprus—political agitation or opposition on the part of the people to the constituted authority is equally unknown. The Christians are less false than Greeks are generally reputed to be—they are also less active and enterprising—yet they have a reputation in the Levant for cunning and keenness in business which is perhaps not altogether undeserved. The Musulmans have little of the fanatical spirit and bigotry which characterizes the Arab Musulman—they live in harmony with their Christian neighbours in town and country—but at Nicosia where they form the majority of the population they are more inclined to assert their superiority.'

In 1864 the Imperial Ottoman Bank established a branch in Cyprus, this being the first appearance of a bank in the island.

The following letter owes its interest not so much to its contents as to the identity of the writer, who was destined to become one of the most distinguished Turkish statesmen of modern times, and was throughout his long life an ardent friend of England. Mehmed Kiamil was a native of Nicosia, and perhaps the greatest Cypriote since Zeno of Citium, the Founder of the Stoics; the tragic *coup d'état* of January 23,

1913, which brought about the fall of his last Ministry and the murder by Enver Bey of his War Minister, Nazim, at the Council table, is within recent memory. In May 1913, Kiamil Pasha returned to Cyprus to end his days in his beloved native island, and there died, at the age of eighty-two, on November 14 of that year[1]:

'To the British Vice-Consul (T),

'The night of January 12th being the anniversary of the birthday of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, as is customary, in all the quarters of the Imperial Citadel at sunset, that is to say, from the time of evening prayer of the night preceding Sunday to the time of afternoon prayer on the following day, there will be fired five salvos on five successive occasions. Also those who are so disposed will illuminate their shops and house fronts to celebrate the happy occasion. On the following day, Sunday, the Members of the Administrative Council and others will pay visits to the Government officials in all the Government centres of the Island and will present their felicitations. As a token of the bonds of friendship which unite the Ottoman Empire to your Country, I beg that you will be so good as to hoist the flag on your Consulate, and honour us with a visit, and announce the fact

[1] For a fuller account of Kiamil Pasha's connexion with Cyprus and his death there, cf. H. C. Luke, *The City of Dancing Dervishes*, ch. v, "The Last Days of a Grand Vizier," London, 1914.

to the British Colony, so that those who are so disposed may illuminate their houses and shops and assist at the ceremonies.

'The Acting Qaimaqam and Mutessarif of Cyprus,

'KIAMIL.

'*January* 6, 1279 [1864].'

On his return from leave, the Mutessarif, for whom Kiamil had been acting, sent to the Vice-Consul the following invitation:

'TO THE BRITISH VICE-CONSUL (T),

'On my return from Constantinople I brought for my intimate friends some portraits of His Majesty the Sultan, and I shall be proud if you will accept an especially fine one as a remembrance of times past.

'I am going to celebrate the circumcision of my son this week, and owing to our close friendship beg to invite you and your wife to the ceremony. Should there be no obstacle to your coming, and should the distance not be too great, I beg to invite you during the whole duration of the festival, which will begin on Monday and continue until Thursday, and also to dinner on the four days.

'The Mutessarif of the Island of Cyprus,

'MEHMED HALET.

'*February* 29, 1279.'

A complaint from the Mudir of Larnaca regarding an offence committed by a British-

protected subject against one of the official monopoly regulations illustrates a detail of Cypriote Municipal administration :

'To the British Vice-Consul (T),

'In each of the towns of Nicosia, Tuzla, and Scala, coffee is pounded in only one place, and the tax on pounding is collected. As the result of the sale of the right of pounding, the tax was adjudged this year to Mehmed, son of Haji Ibrahim of Scala, for a total of Piastres 4,200, and the auction ratified by the Governor. According to the terms of the sale, the pounding of coffee elsewhere is prohibited, and coffee must be bought by the keepers of cafés from the official pounding house. It seems, however, that one of your subjects, named Michael Melikian, pounds his coffee in his own café, and the above farmer of the tax has sent us a petition on the subject. As his complaint appears well founded, and as in this way the revenue is being made to suffer, we beg you to see that the said Michael desists from this practice and buys his coffee ready pounded from the official pounding house. I take the occasion to renew my expressions of regard.

'The Mudir of Larnaca,

'Mustafa Nazif.

'*March* 2, 1279.'

No doubt because they combined remoteness from the capital with an agreeable climate and pleasing surroundings, Cyprus and Rhodes were

the principal destinations of the more favoured class of Turkish exile, that is to say, of the Ottoman officials who, while temporarily in disgrace, owing, perhaps, to the eclipse of their patrons at headquarters, were likely to be restored to favour at some later date. In the course of my travels in Turkey I have met at least two Valis who spent their early youth in Famagusta, where their fathers, Pashas of importance, had been exiled, and who looked back almost with affection on their place of banishment. At the British Occupation in 1878, there was found at Famagusta a number of political exiles, of whom the most interesting was the Babi leader Subh-i-Ezel, who survived until 1912,[1] and among the Consular documents are many petitions from exiles, asking the British authorities to help them to obtain their release. The following is an example :

'Larnaca,
'*le* 20 *Mars*, 1865.

'Monsieur le Consul !

'J'ai l'honneur de porter à Votre connaissance qu'à la suite des facheux évènements de Jedda,[2] ou j'étais Kaimakam, je fus exilé à Chypre en 1859.

'Pendant un séjour de six ans dans ce pays, ou je n'ai trouvé aucune occupation, j'ai dépensé

[1] cf. *Handbook of Cyprus*, 1920, pp. 56–7.

[2] The murder of the British and French Consuls, leading to the bombardment of Jeddah by a British vessel,

tout ce que j'avais et vendu un après l'autre les quelques objets de petite valeur que je portais sur moi, de sorte que je me trouve maintenant privé de ressources pour ma subsistance.

'Dans mon adversité, dans mon infortune, j'ose recourir à Vous, Mr. le Consul, Vous priant de vouloir bien soumettre ma cause à Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique à Constantinople pour qu'il plaise à Son Excellence d'interceder en ma faveur auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan mon Auguste Maitre, et obtenir pour moi la grâce et la permission de rentrer en Karaisar Sarki mon pays natal, ou eloigné de tout emploi et surveillé même s'il faut je puisse trouver de quoi vivre auprès de ma famille.

'Dans l'espoir que Vous aurez l'extrême bonté d'appuyer ma démande, je Vous prie Monsieur le Consul d'agréer l'assurance de mon éstime et de mon profond respect.

'Votre très-humble Serviteur,

'Hasan Ibrahim.

'Monsieur,
'Mr. D. Colnaghi,
'Consul de S.M. la Reine d'Anglетèrre, à Chypre.'

In October 1865, Consul Colnaghi was succeded by Vice-Consul Sandwith, under the jurisdiction of the Consulate of Beirut.

We now come to what is probably the most valuable and informative of the documents preserved among these archives. On March 6, 1867, the House of Commons presented an

Address to the Queen, praying ‘ that there be laid before this House a copy of any papers or Despatches from Her Majesty’s Diplomatic or Consular Agents in any part of the Turkish Empire or of Greece, which show how the stipulations agreed on by the British Government and that of Turkey with regard to the Treatment of the Christian and of the Greek subjects of the Sultan have been observed.’ In due course there was issued one of the most important of the Parliamentary Papers relating to Turkey, wherein are collected the twenty-six Consular reports prepared in compliance with the Address. The report of the Vice-Consul in Cyprus is as follows :

‘ Larnaca, Cyprus,
‘ *April* 15, 1867.

‘ My Lord,

‘ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency’s circular of the 16th ultimo (to which was subjoined a copy of an Address to Her Majesty from the House of Commons), requesting certain information relative to the treatment of the Greek and other Christian subjects of the Sultan.

‘ It is necessary to premise that out of a total population of 200,000 souls, which it is roughly calculated that this island contains, more than three-quarters are Christians professing the orthodox Greek faith, the remainder being Mussulmans. The former hold an inferior position to the latter in two important respects ; first, that in the legal tribunals they are very inadequately

represented; and secondly, that, with two exceptions to be mentioned hereafter, their evidence is refused in all the tribunals when given against Mussulmans.

'It is to the composition of the Courts of Justice, indeed, that almost all the grievances of which the Christians have to complain may be traced, with the exception of those which they suffer in common with Mussulmans from the incapacity of the Government; and on this account I think it important to give a brief description of the character and functions of these bodies.

'Each of the sixteen districts into which Cyprus is divided has its Medjlis or Municipal Council, which holds its sittings at the chief town of the district, and consists of about six members. Taking that sitting at this town of Larnaca as a specimen of the rest, it is composed of four Mussulmans and two Christians, and is presided over by the Mudir or local Governor. The Mussulman members consist of the Cadi or Judge, who sits *ex officio*, and three members representing the Mahometan population; the two Christian members represent, and are elected by, their coreligionists. This Court tries both civil and criminal cases, and its decisions are given by the majority of votes, but Christian testimony is held inadmissible.

'From these District Courts appeals are made to the Provincial Court, which holds its sittings at the capital, and which takes cognizance of matters of an administrative or financial character

connected with taxes, tithes, Customs duties, and such civil suits as do not immediately concern questions of inheritance, which fall within the domain of the Cadi's jurisdiction, or in the case of Christians are managed by their own ecclesiastics. Its constitution is framed with the same disregard to the interests it ought to represent and protect, as characterizes that of the minor Courts. It is composed of thirteen members, exclusive of the Pasha of Cyprus, who presides at its sittings; and of these, nine are Mussulmans and four Christians. Of the former, six sit in virtue of their office, viz. the Cadi, the Mufti, the Treasurer, the Administrator of Mortmain Property, the Administrator of Crown Lands, and the Public Registrar, while the remaining three represent the Mahometan inhabitants of the town. The four Christian members consist of the Archbishop of Cyprus, who sits *ex officio*, and three others, who are elected by their fellow Christian townsmen; but if any of them—and this remark applies equally to the three Mahometan members—have rendered themselves obnoxious to the Governor, he signifies his dissatisfaction with the choice, and others are substituted in their place. It is manifestly impossible, therefore, for any of the elected members to maintain an independent attitude by checking abuses, for he would thereby incur the displeasure of the Pasha and official Turkish members, who collectively are as strong as the Pasha, and lose his seat. Their subservience to Government is further increased by the salaries which they draw—salaries contributed by the

Christians for the payment of their delegates, but distributed by the Pasha. Thus, in the Council where questions affecting the most important interests of the island are adjudicated, and which is the tribunal at which all appeals from inferior Courts are finally decided, there are nine members to represent less than one-fourth of the population and one-sixth of the property, and only four members to represent the remaining important majority, and over these a Mussulman functionary holding the highest rank in the island exercises the influence of his powerful authority. A just and capable Governor can often do much to mitigate the evils of the vicious system he is called on to administer ; an incapable one has it in his power to aggravate them.

'It would not, however, be a fair conclusion to draw from the above descriptions of the provincial and sixteen district Councils that justice is always denied to Christians. The constitution of these Courts would certainly justify such a conclusion, especially as the rejection of Christians' evidence is one of their fundamental laws. But it must not be forgotten that all their members are open to bribery, and the rich Christian suitor is often more than a match for his poor Mussulman adversary. The civil disabilities, too, under which the Christians lie are materially mitigated by the important circumstance that they are the wealthiest class in the island, being the principal landowners, and, in trade, no less than in agriculture, possess a pre-eminence over the Mahomedans. Enjoying

thus the many advantages which accrue from the possession of superior wealth as well as intelligence, they are not unfrequently able to induce the local Councils to accept their evidence against Mahomedans. This is especially the case in places where the latter are few and poor, and dependent, it may be, on the Christians for their means of living. In such cases it may truly be said that the Christians get justice for themselves, and in spite of the spirit of the institutions provided for that purpose by Government. It is in the capital, where the most important causes are heard, that they labour under the greatest disadvantages, for there alone is observable any spirit of Mussulman fanaticism, the rest of the country being singularly free from its baneful influence. The Mussulmans having there been long in the ascendancy, in the possession of considerable property, and their exclusive spirit kept alive by the presence of the Government, which is always more or less animated by jealousy of Christian influence, and the members of which are constantly recruited from Constantinople, a certain hostility to the Greek population displays itself, the more remarkable from its absence elsewhere. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the Medjlis which holds its sittings there should fairly represent the interests of all parties in the island, its members being chosen from its several districts, instead of, as at present, from the town itself, and provision should be particularly made that it is not overweighted by the presence of so many as seven irremovable Turkish functionaries.

'The two Courts where Christian evidence is received, to which reference was made above, are, first, the Medjlis el Tahkik, where the more important criminal and police cases are tried, the members of which are both Christians and Mussulmans, and which holds its sittings at Nicosia the capital of Cyprus; and, secondly, the Mejlis el Tijaret, sitting at Larnaca where commercial suits are heard, the members of which consist of equal numbers of Europeans and natives, each important Consulate sending a delegate, and the natives being half Christian and half Mussulman, making a total of twelve. Thus fair guarantees of justice are afforded to the population of this commercial town, where, too, the several Consulates are able to watch the proceedings of the Court. At the capital the Medjlis el Tahkik cannot adequately attend to the criminal jurisdiction of the whole island, the majority of cases being disposed of by the District Courts where Christian testimony is inadmissible.

'Another grievance of which the Greeks have to complain is the unequal distribution of the personal tax called "verghi," of which they pay in most villages more than their fair share; but this is an evil which would be quickly remedied could they make themselves heard in the Central Medjlis.

'Though they have just cause then to complain of the inferior position which they hold in the eye of the law in the instances already mentioned, both Mussulmans and Christians have equal cause to be dissatisfied with the maladministration

which, in these days of commercial activity, arrests the development of the resources of the island. The Government derives a revenue of 230,000 *l.* from Cyprus, and the expenses of administration amount at most to 30,000 *l.*, the surplus of 200,000 *l.* finding its way to the Treasury at Constantinople. Nothing whatever is spent on the improvements of the country, no roads are constructed, no bridges thrown across the winter torrents. But these and other instances of a careless or vicious administration which could be enumerated are not exclusively detrimental to the interests of the Greek population, and, therefore, I refrain from dwelling on them here. But I think that there can be no doubt that the evils which press equally upon Turks and Greeks are more intolerable than those of which the Greeks alone have cause to complain.

'In casting a rapid glance over the various reforms sketched out in the Hatti-Humayoun, I would remark that the article threatening severe punishment to such as use injurious epithets to members of non-Mussulman sects remains a dead letter, no one having probably heard of a Mussulman being punished for an offence of the kind, though its practice is much less common than formerly.

'The clause engaging that the free exercise of his religion shall be permitted to every one is also far from being carried out. There exist here scattered throughout the island some 5,100 persons who are Mussulmans in name only, some of whom apostatized from Christianity in order

to save their lives during the Greek Revolution, when a reign of terror prevailed here, while others are the offspring of the illicit amours of Greeks and Mussulmans, who are always forced to adopt the religion of the dominant race. Some of the latter are bona-fide Mussulmans, but a great many are Christians at heart, but are obliged publicly to acknowledge the Prophet, and can only secretly testify their adherence to Christianity. There can be no doubt that, if there was perfect toleration in religion, these persons would gladly emancipate themselves from the thraldom of their position.

'The article which states that all public employments in the Empire shall be thrown open to every candidate, no matter what his religion, according to his capacity and merit, can hardly be said to have been carried out in this part of the Sultan's dominions, where the only Christians in public employ are a few clerks, whose office confers no sort of consideration and who draw salaries of only 60 *l.* a year each If capacity and merit were really titles for preferment to public offices, the relative positions of Turks and Greeks in this island would be reversed, the latter occupying the important, and the former the inferior posts.

'Another clause provides for the formation of commercial and criminal Courts of Law, for the hearing of causes affecting Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans. This has been to some extent carried out, but inadequately, as shown elsewhere.

'The Hatti-Humayoun also provides an amelio-

ration in the condition of the prisons and prison discipline, while next to nothing has been done to render the common gaols fit receptacles for human beings, still less as a means of discipline for the different classes of criminals.

'Finally, the prospect held out by the Hatt, that certain sums should be devoted to public works, has not been realized. With a surplus revenue of 200,000 *l.* it might be expected that something would be done towards carrying out public works of utility. An abortive attempt was indeed made three or four years ago to construct a carriage-road between this port and the capital, a distance of but twenty-five miles. But instead of devoting any of the usual revenue of the island to this purpose, a tax was imposed on that part of the country which was to have benefited by the undertaking, and its labouring population forced to work gratuitously. After 3,000 *l.* had been expended in the payment of salaries to an engineer and his staff and preliminary expenses, at the end of a year the work came to a close, the only result being the cutting of a ditch for five miles on either side of the intended road.

'The present Governor has since recommended the abandonment of the undertaking; but travelling myself in that district only last week, I was surprised to find that Government still continued to collect the road tax, one village where I stayed having just paid 130 *l.* for that object. Many of the inhabitants being very poor, they offered to work without remuneration,

but were told that money, and not their labour, was required.

'I have, &c.,

'THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

'The Right Honble. Lord Lyons.'

In 1867 there was also addressed to the British Consular officers in Turkey a questionnaire as to taxation in the several Ottoman provinces. Information was desired under ten heads, which are given below, together with the answers forwarded by the Vice-Consul in Cyprus to the Ambassador in Constantinople on August 19, 1867:

'1. *What are the taxes levied in your district and the approximative proceeds of each?*

'1. The following is a list of the taxes levied in Cyprus and the approximative proceeds of each, after the expenses of collection are deducted:

	Gross Piastres.	Net Piastres.
(1) Tithes of 10 per cent on agricultural produce		5,500,000
Note.—This year, owing to the tithes being raised to 15 per cent., they have been farmed for P. 7,000,000.		
(2) Verghi		3,400,000
(3) Bedelié Askeriyé, Exemption of Christians from military service . . .		920,000
(4) Customs	1,530,000	1,150,000
Note.—Under this head is included the sum of P. 50,000, being the proceeds of the silk-tithes. These tithes were farmed out until the last four years for an annual sum of about P. 200,000, when, the silk-worm being attacked by disease, the value of the tithes became so uncertain that nobody was willing to purchase them. Thereupon the Custom House Authorities were ordered to undertake their collection		
Carried Forward	1,530,000	10,970,000

	Gross Piastres.	Net Piastres.
Brought Forward	1,530,000	10,970,000
(5) Monopoly on salt, the produce of the Salt Lakes	5,700,000	5,150,000
(6) Duty on wines and spirits of 10 per cent. on their value		885,000
(7) Duty on tobacco.		27,500
(8) Rousoumat, called also Intizab. These taxes are distributed under the following five heads, and are farmed for . . .		265,000
(*a*) the tax on the right of public weighing.		
(*b*) the tax on the right of measuring grain.		
(*c*) stamps on cotton goods and leather manufactured in Nicosia, the capital of the Island.		
(*d*) 2½ per cent. on the sale of animals in towns.		
(*e*) a monthly duty of P. 1½ on shops.		
(9) Tax on sheep and goats . . .		640,000
(10) Stamps on bonds, contracts, title-deeds, sales, and all documents filed in the Courts of Justice		200,000
(11) Tax on the transfer of land . . .		50,000
(12) Licences for repairing buildings, introduced last autumn and estimated at .		50,000
(13) A tax on fish, amounting to 20 per cent. of their price, established last March and farmed for		20,000
	Total .	18,257,500

'2. *Are there any special taxes peculiar to the district?*

'2. There are two taxes, or, at least, burdens on the people equivalent to taxes not included in the above list, which, if not peculiar to this Island, do not obtain throughout the Empire generally; these are the locust tax and the road tax.

'*First.* The locust tax is an obligation laid on each peasant to collect every year thirty okes of locusts' eggs, locusts being a scourge from which the Island is never free. In those districts in

which the eggs are abundant the tale of thirty okes of eggs will represent four days' labour; in other districts where they are more sparsely laid, it will require ten days' labour to collect them; while in those where they are not found at all, the peasantry are obliged to buy them from other parts of the country at a cost of two piastres an oke. It is generally estimated that this measure is a tax on each village of sixty piastres a year.

'*Second.* The road tax was imposed in 1865 for the purpose of making a carriage-road between the port of Larnaca and the capital, Nicosia. It was arranged that the villages living within a short distance from the line traced out for the road should contribute their labour gratis, while such as lived at a distance should pay a sum of money. £4,000 was collected towards this object the first year, but scarcely anything could be shown for such an expenditure. The whole plan has now been abandoned for upwards of a year by official instructions from Constantinople, but so late as last April money was being collected ostensibly for the above object, one village through which I happened to be then passing having just paid 130 Turkish pounds in the name of the road tax, not one farthing of which can have been applied to that purpose.

'3. *If you have the report of Mr. Foster and Lord Hobart of December* 7, 1861, *give any comments which may suggest themselves on the same, particularly in reference to taxes.*

'3. I regret to say that Mr. Foster and Lord

Hobart's Report does not exist in the Archives of this Vice-Consulate.

> '4. *What modifications have been effected since the date of that report of H.M.'s Commissioners?*

'4. The following modifications have been effected since the date of the report of H.M.'s Commissioners:

'(1) An increase of the tax on sheep and goats from twenty to sixty paras.

'(2) An increase of the duty on salt from four paras the oke to one piastre. The latter duty now applies only to towns, the salt for consumption in the country being just reduced to twenty paras.

'(3) An increase of the duty on tobacco to twelve piastres the oke.

'(4) The tax on the repairing of buildings.

'(5) The tax on fish.

> '5. *What is the mode of collection now employed, that of farming taxes or "en régie"?*

'5. The tithes, the Rousoumat, the sheep-tax, and the fish-tax are farmed, the rest are collected "*en régie.*"

'The tithes were collected on account of Government in 1863 and the two following years, at the expiration of which period a return to the old system of farming them out took place. It would naturally be supposed that the peasantry would have preferred the method of making their

payments direct to Government, who only raised the same revenue from the tithes as they now receive from those who farm them. The profits made by these latter, which are generally considerable, should have been reaped by the villagers, but it was found in many villages that two or three of the headmen who kept the accounts with the Government enriched themselves at the expense of the rest, who from their ignorance of reading and writing were unable to check the frauds practised on them, and who, though they had tamely submitted to be plundered by the former tithe-farmers, could not bear to see their fellow-villagers make a profit out of them. The dissatisfaction thus created, though by no means universal, was fostered by the influential members of the Mejlis sitting at the capital, who through their creatures had been in the habit of farming the tithes, and who caused Mazbattas expressive of a desire for a return to the old system of farming to be circulated amongst the villages for signature, a method which produced the desired result.

‘6. *What is the effect of the present system on any particular branches of industry?*

‘6. The system as at present practised of levying the taxes on the manufacture of wine and spirits, which is the most important branch of industry in the Island, has a most injurious effect on the production of those articles.

‘In the first place, the grapes are liable to the usual tithe of 10 per cent. levied on all agricul-

tural produce. When they have been converted into wine and spirits, the latter are subjected to another tax of 10 per cent. imposed in a most vexatious and arbitrary manner. Government officers are sent down from the capital of the Island to the wine-growing districts about the month of November, where, going from village to village, they proceed to value the stock of wine belonging to each proprietor, none of whom, on pain of a heavy fine, are allowed to dispose of their stocks before they have been measured and valued. As many of these employés are ignorant of the value of the several kinds of wine, the law provides that the prices, purporting to be the market-prices, on the basis of which the duty is levied, shall be annually fixed at a meeting of the local Mejlises to which should be invited two wine-merchants, two vine-growers, and the tax-gatherers. This legal provision is not carried out, the vine-growers never being summoned to give their opinion, and that of the merchants being often overruled by the tax-gatherers, so that it not infrequently happens that the tax is based on a price which the grower cannot afterwards realize. In deciding too on the value of the different qualities of wines, a function which a connoisseur in native growths is alone capable of performing, the Government employés are often grievously at fault through over-estimating their values.

'Finally, the wine, which has already paid the tithe of 10 per cent. while in the grape, and then a tax of 10 per cent. after its conversion into

wine, is further subjected to the export duty of 8 per cent. on its shipment to other parts of Turkey. . For many years subsequent to 1854 the Cyprus vineyards were ravaged by the same destructive disease which desolated the vine-growing countries of Europe, from the effects of which they have never recovered. Even since the abatement of that malady, however, the wine trade has not been more prosperous, owing to the heavy taxation it is subjected to, no less than to the unpopular manner in which that taxation is raised. The common black wine of the Island, which is extremely cheap, and I am bound to say nasty, is largely consumed in Egypt and in the Levant generally. In 1854 the exportation of this wine amounted to 3,840,000 okes, and of the more palatable Commanderia to 512,000 okes, while no less than a million okes of Raki also left the Island. At the present time the exportation of these wines has fallen off by exactly one-half and that of Raki to 300,000 okes, the latter being even undersold by spirits imported from Trieste.

'Tobacco-culture is another species of agricultural industry which has been gradually languishing under the heavy hand of taxation, and which were it not for the extensive system of smuggling carried on would have still further declined. At present Government derives a revenue of less than P. 30,000 a year from the duty on this narcotic.

'7. *What reforms seem to be most called for?*

'7. In order to raise the wine trade from the

state of depression into which it has fallen two reforms are greatly needed, first a reduction of duty, and secondly a less arbitrary mode of levying that duty. The simple method of raising the tithes on grapes from 10 to 15 per cent. and abolishing the duty on wine would remove all ground for complaint. I should add that the present system has been in operation since 1858, and though the vine-growers have doubtless suffered chiefly from the grape disease, this extensive branch of industry would probably have rallied from its destructive effects, as it has elsewhere, if a less onerous and more equitable system of taxation prevailed.

'Similarly a reduction of duty on the common kinds of tobacco would diminish the temptation to smuggling, and also by putting it in the power of the poor to indulge more freely in the habit of smoking, the privation from which is a real hardship, the consumption of tobacco would perhaps be so far increased as to cover the loss incurred by the proposed remission of part of the duty.

'8. *Has any attempt been made to establish a cadastre of real property?*

'8. An Agent arrived here last winter from Constantinople with a staff of sixteen clerks charged with the mission of establishing a cadastre of real property in the Island. He has been engaged in this occupation ever since, but his proceedings are viewed with dislike by the land-

owners, who are aware that a new system of taxation, the burden of which is to be borne by themselves, will be the result of his visit. A temporary consequence of this state of feeling is a fall in the value of land and a difficulty in effecting sales of real property, which is likely to last until the intentions of Government are officially declared. Complaints are general that the estimates already made of the value of landed property are too high, but it is difficult to know how far such complaints are well-founded.

'In order to meet the expenses attending the making of this cadastre a tax of 4 per mille on the assessed value of the property is to be raised, and 3 per cent. on its annual value is said to be the amount of the taxation hereafter to be imposed.

'9. *On what basis is the "Verghi" assessed?*

'9. The Verghi is assessed in the following manner. The central Mejlis of Nicosia fixes every four years the amount to be paid by the several districts (Kazas), regard being had to their population rather than to their prosperity; the district Mejlises decide the part to be borne by each village, and the chief men of a village levy a sum on every able-bodied man from eighteen years old and upwards in their village. The basis on which they assess the Verghi seems to be that as much as possible should be squeezed out of the poor who contribute out of all proportion to their means, a farmer possessed of land and making his £100 a year assessing himself at

P. 150 and the poor day-labourer barely earning £20 a year at seventy or eighty Piastres.

> '10. *What is the result of the working of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial treaty of April 29, 1861? What reforms seem to be called for in the interest of British trade?*

'10. The result of the working of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial treaty of 1861 may be considered under two heads, first as it affects Turkey, and secondly as it affects Great Britain.

'*First.* The working of the treaty is probably as advantageous to Turkey in general as it has been to Cyprus, the diminishing export duty encouraging the trade in all those raw materials which constitute the great bulk of her exports. In this Island the staple articles of export to Europe consist in cotton, madder roots, and caroubs, and though the operation of more important and well-known causes have in recent years stimulated the trade in the first of these commodities, the small export duty has no doubt had its part in extending its cultivation.

'As regards the Import Duty the difference between 5 and 8 per cent. has not had any perceptible effect in discouraging the demand for British fabrics. In Cyprus the country people have long been in the habit of weaving their own clothing, the material of which consists chiefly of cotton grown by themselves, the women of each family supplying the clothing required for their own households. The townspeople

on the contrary wear exclusively stuffs of foreign manufacture imported for the most part from England.

'The duty of 8 per cent. levied on the transit from one Turkish port to another of all goods, whether manufactured or in the raw material, though forming no part of the Treaty under consideration, should yet be viewed in connexion with it, as it has a fatal effect in discouraging native industrial enterprise, which, but for this tax, the above Treaty was calculated to foster. There are no manufactures of importance in this Island, silk, cotton, and leather being manufactured only in sufficient quantities to meet local wants. The chief items of exports to Turkey, consisting in grain, wine, dairy produce, and articles of raw material, all suffer from the high duty imposed on them.

'The Customs in Cyprus, which are derived chiefly from exports, are annually diminishing, a result which can excite no surprise.

'*Secondly*. The working of the Treaty as it regards England has been, I conceive, entirely to its advantage, the extra 3 per cent. of Import Duty being naturally paid by the foreign consumer, and the reduction in the export duties being manifestly in favour of the inhabitants of both countries.

'Owing to the uncertainty attending all estimates of the annual importations of British goods at small ports like that of Larnaca, where they are imported under a foreign flag, and in considerable quantities at a time, by native

merchants residing in Beyrout, Smyrna, and Syra, instead of direct from England, it is impossible to state with the necessary exactitude what variations have taken place in the trade in British manufactured goods, and hence the difficulty of estimating the effect produced in that trade by the increased duty. It is not generally supposed, however, that the demand for British-manufactured goods in Cyprus has fallen off in consequence of the extra duty, nor is this an unreasonable conclusion seeing that no native manufacture has been called into competition, and the centres of population continue as before dependent for their supply of cotton stuffs on foreign markets.

'The diminution of the duty on exports has doubtless greatly benefited British trade, particularly at a crisis when the demand for cotton in England was unprecedented. The stimulus then given to the cultivation of that staple was prodigious, and the profits accruing from the remission of so much duty were reaped mainly by England. In spite of the fall in prices the demand for cotton is still active, but the profits to be made by the native grower have now reached a point such that if 12 per cent. were still the duty levied, the cultivation would probably begin to suffer a decline.

'I cannot suggest any reforms which would be for the interest of British trade, the trade carried on between this Island and Great Britain furnishing no grounds for dissatisfaction to those engaged in it.'

In November 1867, the Vice-Consul reports to Constantinople that a Staff Officer of the Military Train has arrived in Cyprus to buy mules for the Abyssinian Campaign, and has purchased 800 animals, 700 at £20 a head and 100 at £18 10*s*. He adds that the Director of the Transport Service in Egypt pronounced the mules the finest and most serviceable yet supplied.

This despatch recalls the fact that the mules of Cyprus are well known for their excellent quality. Cypriote mules had previously been used by the British Army in the Crimean War, and proved their usefulness in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882 and in the Great War of 1914–18.

In 1868, as has been stated, the arrangement, whereby in 1861 Cyprus was created an independent Mutessariflik, was temporarily reversed by the inclusion of the island in the Vilayet of the Dardanelles; and in his despatch of May 26, 1868, the Acting Vice-Consul informs the Embassy in Constantinople of a visit paid by the Vali, whose headquarters were at Chanaq, to his new dependency:

'Referring to despatch No. 6 under date 8th ulto. of Mr. T. B. Sandwith, advising Your Excellency that this Island was in future to form part of the Vilayet of the Dardanelles, I have the honour to communicate for the information of Your Excellency that His Excellency Ahmet Kaiserli Pasha, Head of the Vilayet, has just made a visit of five weeks to this Island, leaving this for Rhodes on the 19th instant. His Excellency

while here made most strenuous efforts for the destruction of locusts—a scourge from which the Island has suffered for many years—and I have much pleasure in stating that these exertions were crowned with very considerable success. It is the opinion of His Excellency and competent judges here that with persevering effort in August of this year and May and June of next the destruction of locusts would be so far attained as to prevent their doing any harm to the crops of the Island.

'Throughout the Island there is for the present considerable confusion from the introduction of the new Vilayet system, and the necessary reconstruction of the local Medjlisses. The country population are scarcely able, from ignorance and ineptitude, to carry out many of the new reforms, and at the first much difficulty will be felt; but it is to be hoped that a little time will suffice to fit them for the more liberal system now introduced and which may be expected especially to have an advantageous influence on the Christian population.

'It is to be regretted, and is most inconvenient, that the capital of the Vilayet to which Cyprus is attached (Dardanelles) should be so far removed, and this defect will probably counteract many of the advantages which the new system promised to confer.'

In 1869 a further questionnaire, dealing with taxation, was issued by the Embassy; it was answered as follows by Vice-Consul Sandwith,

in his detailed and illuminating despatch of June 19, 1869:

> '1. *What are the amounts of verghi or other corresponding tax imposed on your Vilayet and its subdivisions as far as can be ascertained by you?*

'1. In the Island of Cyprus, which forms part of the Vilayet of the Mediterranean Islands under Turkish rule exclusive of Candia and Samos, the Verghi amounts to 2,950,000 piastres.

> '2. *Have those amounts been permanent since* 1840, *or when and how are they revised?*

'2. This amount has been permanent since 1840.

'The amounts payable by each village are revised every four years by the District Mejlises. If complaints are made by certain villages that the sums levied on them are excessive on account of the decrease of the population either by the death or migration of their inhabitants or a temporary scarcity, the heads, called Mucktars, of such villages present themselves before the District Mejlis to establish the truth of their assertions, and if the Mejlis is satisfied that they have made good their case, a deduction is made from their taxes and the difference added to those of some other village or villages in the same Sanjak. Such is the legal provision devised for keeping up an equitable distribution of taxation, but it is seldom that it can be put into practice on

account of the corrupt composition of the Mejlises.

'3. *How far have the "Cadastre" (takriri-emlak) and the new taxes Salyavé and Timettou been introduced and with what general results?*

'3. In one only of the sixteen Sanjaks into which Cyprus is divided, that in which the capital, Nicosia, is situated, has the Cadastre been carried out, and the Timettou introduced. The general results seem to be a somewhat larger return of revenue to the Exchequer than under the former system, and a much more equitable distribution, the rich and poor paying according to their means.

'4. *Some reports state that "the district councils allot to each sect and village its quota of the tax. The Heads of the several Communities are charged with and responsible for the due collection from their co-religionists." Is this still so? If so, what is the mechanism adopted? What are the names of the administrative unities in your district? Is Religion or Locality the basis of the apportionment?*

'4. The statement conveyed in this question is practically correct. In Cyprus the population of the majority of the villages is mixed, divided between Mussulmans and Christians of the Greek Orthodox rite. Each of the two communi-

ties in a village pays its own quota of the Verghi, which is fixed by the District Mejlis, and it is collected by the head-man or Mucktar of each community, who pays it into the District Treasury. The Mucktars are looked on as responsible for the due collection of the Verghi, but if they indicate one or more of the inhabitants who have failed to pay their portion of the tax, they can procure its levy by distress or have the defaulters imprisoned. It more usually happens, however, when a village is in arrears, that a zaptieh is sent to exact the sum due, who lives at the expense of the village till it is paid up, and then the money is quickly got together by loan or other means, in order to get rid of the unwelcome guest. The administrative unities in Cyprus are :

'A Pasha of the lowest rank, or Mir-Miran.

'Five Kaimakams.

'Ten Mudirs.

'Locality is the basis of apportionment.

'5. *The new Verghi (Salyavé and Timettou), being taxes of a certain proportion of each man's property and income, would seem to be no longer an "impôt de repartition." Does the new system prevail in some Kazas and the old system of repartition in other or parts of others?*

'5. The new system of Timettou prevails as yet in only one of the sixteen administrative Districts of this Island, as already mentioned in my answer to question 3. The "Cadastre"

officials consisting of a chief and twelve assistants have been engaged in their work since the beginning of 1867, but a great part of it has had to be cancelled by the Governor in consequence of its unsatisfactory execution, a secret system of valuing property having been resorted to, without the knowledge, that is, of the owners, whose own estimates of the value of their property ought at least to be compared with the official estimates before being fixed by law. The dissatisfaction with such a system was so great as to lead to a general revision of the work already executed. All the other districts in Cyprus continue to pay the Verghi as before.

> '6. *Are Government officials, members of Medjlis, &c., exempt from Verghi or from any other tax?*

'6. Government officials are exempted from taxation only so far as their salaries are concerned. For real property they pay like other subjects of the Sultan.

> '7. *Please to send any financial figures or data that may be easily procurable; especially such as show the proportions of revenue expended in the Vilayet and of that remitted to the Capital; also the approximative incidence of taxation of all kinds per head, as well as can be calculated with existing data.*

'7. In order to form an estimate of the propor-

tion of revenue expended in Cyprus with that remitted to Constantinople, it will be necessary first of all to state the Income derived by Government from all sources.

		Piastres.
(1)	Tithe of 12 per cent. on agricultural produce.	7,700,000
(2)	Verghi (allowing for the increased sum raised by Timettou in one Sanjak) . . .	3,000,000
(3)	Bedelié Askeriyé	920,000
(4)	Customs	589,595
(5)	Wine Duty	483,466
(6)	Tobacco monopoly	39,263
(7)	Salt monopoly	2,929,550
(8)	Rousoumat or Intisab	265,000
(9)	Sheep and goat tax	640,000
(10)	Stamps	200,000
(11)	Tax on transfer of land	50,000
(12)	Tax on fish	20,000
	Total . .	16,836,874

'This sum, which, with the exception of the last three insignificant items, I have been able to obtain from official sources, represents the regular income raised in Cyprus during the year ended March 13 last. It is about a million below the average, the income derived from the salt monopoly being about two millions less, while that derived from tithes is about a million more than usual.

'I will next endeavour to ascertain as nearly as possible the cost of the administration of public affairs in the Island.

Civil Administration at Headquarters.	Per month Piastres.
(1) Salary of Pasha	12,500
(2) Salaries of Members and Clerks of Provincial Council	2,900
(3) Do. of Town Council.	2,950
(4) Department of official correspondence	4,400
(5) Department of Finance	6,050
(6) Registry of Public Sales	1,500
Caimakamliks.	
Caimakamlik of Larnaka	6,850
,, ,, Limasol	4,800
,, ,, Kyrenia, Famagousta, and Paphos	13,500
Ten Mudirs at 600 p. each	6,000
Quarantine Establishment	1,750
	63,200

Staff of Zaptiehs

1 Colaghassi	750
1 Clerk	450
3 Yuzbashis at 400 each	1,200
1 Mulazim	300
5 Do. at 250 each	1,250
6 Mounted cavasses at 230	1,380
6 Foot cavasses at 130	780
70 Mounted zaptiehs at 170	11,900
130 Foot zaptiehs at 120	15,600
2 Inspectors (mufettish) at 300	600
10 Collectors of taxes at 250	2,500
2 Do. for the capital at 300	600
	37,310

Expenses of Corps of Topjis raised in the Island by conscription

			Per month Piastres.
1 Caimakam at	1,660		
Rations	1,400	paid in money	3,060
1 Binbashi at	1,200		
Rations	800		2,000
1 Colaghassi at	600		
Rations	400		1,000
		Carried Forward	6,060

			Per month Piastres.
		Brought Forward	6,060
3 Yuzbashis at	340		
Rations	260		1,800
1 Alai Emini at	1,200		
Rations	800		2,000
7 Mulazims at	300		
Rations	100		2,800
8 Subalterns at	80		640
16 Sergeants at	60		960
56 Onbashis at	33		1,848
480 privates at	25		12,000
1 Doctor at	1,660		
Rations	1,400		3,060
1 Surgeon at	600		
Rations	400		1,000
1 Apothecary at	340		
Rations	260		600
1 Clerk at	600		
Rations	400		1,000
			33,768
Clothing and feeding men of above corps per month			60,000
		Total	93,768

To recapitulate:

Civil administration per month	63,200
	12
Expense per annum	758,400
Corps of zaptiehs per mensem	37,310
	12
Expense per annum	447,720
Expense of military per mensem	93,768
	12
	1,125,216
Cost of civil administration per annum	758,400
Cost of zaptiehs per annum	447,720
Cost of military establishment per annum	1,125,216
	2,331,336

Expenses of Cadastre

'Another item of expenditure, which, however, is only temporary, is due to the operations of the officers appointed to make the Cadastre of the Island.

	Piastres
The Chief Officer, per mensem	2,000
,, 2nd ,, ,, ,, ...	1,200
12 Clerks, land-surveyors, &c., at 300 p. per mensem	3,600
	6,800
	12
Expenses per annum . .	81,600

'If 100,000 piastres be allowed for incidental expenses of all kinds, the total expense of governing this Island amounts to 2,512,936 piastres a year. Deducting this sum from the total annual revenue—

viz.	16,836,874
	2,512,936
there remains the sum of	14,323,938

available for the Treasury at the capital.

'In calculating the amount of taxation per head of population, deduction must be made from the total revenue of the sum of 2,929,550 piastres, the produce of the salt lakes, due to the bounty of nature. On the other hand, in addition to the items of normal revenue enumerated above, a pretext is afforded every year for some extraordinary call on the peasantry. One year it is a forced loan, another year a road tax, now a contribution for the formation of an agricultural Bank, and now for the destruction of locusts.

The road tax was levied for four successive years, and no work was done to show for it; the last year the contributions for the agricultural Bank and the destruction of locusts were both collected, the latter tax being an annual charge. The sums collected for the formation of an agricultural Bank, the proceeds of which have never been accounted for, though its intention was to aid cultivators in the purchase of stock, amount to about 300,000 piastres, being the value of a kilo of wheat and a kilo of barley from the owner of every pair of bullocks used in ploughing. The locust tax is a much more onerous burden, and amounted last year to 4,000,000 piastres, considerably more than the total amount of the Verghi. If these two sums be added to the normal revenue above stated, and the proceeds of the salt monopoly eliminated, as not being a contribution by the peasantry, there remains the sum of 18,207,324 piastres, collected from a population estimated at 180,000, giving 101 piastres, or eighteen shillings sterling, as the taxation per head.

'The sums of 4,000,000 piastres of locust tax and 300,000 piastres for the agricultural Bank I have not calculated in the surplus available for the Treasury at Constantinople, because the former amount was actually expended in carrying out the object for which it was raised; and if the same cannot be said for the latter sum, it has certainly not gone to fill the Imperial coffers.'

As the Acting Vice-Consul had foretold in his

despatch of May 26, 1868, quoted above, the distance of Cyprus from the headquarters of the Vilayet, of which it was now a part, proved detrimental to the good government of the island; and Vice-Consul Sandwith, writing to the Embassy on April 9, 1870, two years after the application of the Vilayet system to Cyprus, was compelled to urge that its administrative independence should be restored:

'The system of government known as the Vilayet system recently established in Turkey has now been on its trial in this Island for a period of two years. As I cannot but think its working in the small sphere brought under my notice to be unsatisfactory, I will venture to point out one or two of its capital defects.

'The most serious defect seems to me to be the withdrawal of power from the local authorities and its concentration at the headquarters of the Vilayet. Were Cyprus within easy reach of its governmental capital at the Dardanelles, or connected with it by telegraph, reference to headquarters being then easily practicable, the evil of divided authority might not be felt. As it is, the Island has communication with the Dardanelles only once a fortnight, and the delays consequent on this isolation are serious and manifest. The limitation of the Governor's power renders it especially necessary that reference to his immediate superior should be rapid and frequent. The ends of justice too often fail of attainment by the tardy and costly communica-

tion, as may be readily conceived when it is taken into account that the Governor's power of punishment in criminal plaints is limited to three months' imprisonment. Cases of a graver nature are carried for judgment to the Dardanelles; and as it is precisely in such cases that the greatest difficulty is found in procuring witnesses willing to give evidence, on account of the necessity of their attendance at a distant tribunal, impunity is thus enjoyed by the worst class of criminals. The law obliging heinous offences to be carried to a higher court implies that the members of such court are of superior intelligence to those composing the lower tribunal. Now I will venture to say, from what I can learn, that the members composing the Mejlis of the Dardanelles, before which grave cases are tried, are not a whit superior, in point of education and general intelligence, to the members of local Mejlis here. Cases of administration affecting the interests of the Island are submitted to the appreciation of a body of men for the most part indifferent to the questions proposed to them, and generally ignorant, from the want of local knowledge, of the merits of those questions.

'In the internal administration, the action of the Governor is further trammelled by the slender authority he possesses over the subordinate Governors, who hold their appointments direct from the Vali at the Dardanelles, are in some cases his creatures, and, as long as they can keep in favour with him, are indifferent to the good opinion of the local Pasha.

'The dissatisfaction throughout the Island with the new order of things is so general that I am informed that an effort is being made by the most influential inhabitants to have Cyprus erected into a separate Vilayet. They argue that Cyprus is in itself more important than all the rest of the Vilayet, embracing the Turkish Archipelago, put together, and contributes more to the Imperial Treasury. The extra expenditure involved in the change proposed would be trifling, as it would not be necessary to raise the Pasha's salary, and whatever that expenditure might amount to, the Island is quite ready to take the additional burden upon itself.

'I have been requested to make representations to you in favour of the formation of this Island into a separate Vilayet, and as I am persuaded that this is no party movement, but is based on rational grounds, and am aware also that most of my colleagues have written or intend writing to their respective Embassies in the same sense, I have thought it my duty to bring the subject before you as more competent to judge of its merits than myself.'

In the same year, 1870, Cyprus, already afflicted by the ravages of locusts, which the local Governor, Said Pasha, had done much to combat, suffered an additional misfortune through drought and its attendant famine. Relief works, in the shape of the Larnaca-Nicosia road, were undertaken, taxation was remitted, and in April the Vali of the Dardanelles, Ahmed Pasha, paid a

visit of two weeks' duration to the island. From a despatch, dated May 10, from Vice-Consul Sandwith to the Embassy in Constantinople, we learn that the Vali's recommendations were the sinking of artesian wells and the dredging of the old harbour of Famagusta, where, apparently, Ahmed Pasha hoped to discover a Venetian treasure.[1] 'In consequence,' says Hackett, 'of the misery and losses sustained by the islanders through these two crushing misfortunes it was resolved to petition the supreme Government for some measures of relief. A deputation composed of four members, two Christians and two Moslems, and headed by the Archbishop, was accordingly despatched to Constantinople. So well did it plead the cause of the distressed islanders, ably seconded by the advocacy of the Cypriot Qibrisli Mehmed Pasha,[2] that in the short space of one month and a half it succeeded in obtaining the two concessions for which it asked. A firman was issued withdrawing Cyprus from the Vilayet of the Islands and constituting it an independent Mutessariflik, while the necessary seed for the following year was authorized to be drawn from the Government granaries in the island.' [3]

This, the last constitutional change in Cyprus

[1] The only treasure discovered when the harbour was actually dredged in 1903–6 was one of the nineteen cannon presented by Henry VIII to L'Isle Adam for the recapture of Rhodes.

[2] The Grand Vizier, a native of Paphos, where his descendants still own property.

[3] P. 236.

prior to the British occupation, was announced by the Governor in a letter to the Vice-Consul, dated August 1, 1870:

'To the British Vice-Consul (T),

'His Imperial Majesty, having heard that the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus experience difficulties in the transaction of their business and in their dealings with the Government owing to its distance from the capital of the Vilayet, has been graciously pleased to consider the means whereby this difficulty may be removed, and has decided to detach the island and erect it into an independent Mutessariflik. . . .

'The Governor of Cyprus,

'Mehmed Said.'

In reporting, on October 24, 1871, the arrival in Cyprus of the first Governor-General of the island under the new regime, the Acting Consul [1] gives the Ambassador a pleasing, and, as regards the last paragraph at any rate, a characteristic glimpse of Turkish administration:

'I have the honour to inform Your Excellency of the arrival here of an Ottoman steamer on the 16th instant with H. E. Aziz Pasha, newly appointed Governor-General of this island, and superseding Mehmet Said Pasha. After performing quarantine in the Lazzaretto here H. E.

[1] In 1871 the Cyprus Vice-Consulate was again raised to the status of a Consulate.

proceeded on the 22nd instant to Nicosia to assume his post of Governor-General.

'I feel it to be a conscientious duty to bring to the knowledge of Your Excellency the very general though not wholly unanimous regret felt throughout this island at the departure of H. E. Said Pasha. Whatever may have been the defects of his administrative government, none of his predecessors has ever effected so much as he has done for the material interests of the island—in the construction of roads—building bridges—clearing and repairing water-courses—and, greatest of all, the entire destruction of the locusts, which for a long previous period constituted the greatest scourge of this island, whilst his zealous and benevolent solicitude for the poor during the misery and distress of last winter through the failure of the grain crops cannot be forgotten by the many who were the recipient of his bounty and who owe their means of existence during that hard period to his care and assistance.

'I have further to report to Your Excellency the arrival yesterday of the Ottoman steamer *Izedin*, which is reported to have brought here Husni Pasha, ex-Minister of Police, and Emin Bey Effendi, ex-First Secretary of the Palace of His Majesty the Sultan, who, as I am informed, have been exiled to this island.'

A despatch of January 26, 1872, from Consul R. H. Lang to the Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, refers to an attempt to revive the importation of slaves into Cyprus :

'For some time past, in this Island, an increase has been observable in the trafficking in slaves; and quite recently these operations assumed a new phase by the importation of negresses from the coast of Barbary. Upon receiving reliable information in regard to one of these importations I thought it my duty to bring the matter to the notice of His Excellency the Governor-General of this Island and urge him to take such measures as might put an end to this illegal commerce. . . .

'I have pleasure in bearing testimony to the prompt and energetic manner in which His Excellency Aziz Pasha has acted in this matter. The guilt of the native captain against whom I informed was clearly proved. He has been sent to Nicosia for trial and I understand will be condemned to one year's imprisonment. This signal punishment will doubtless suffice to arrest the inhuman trade which would certainly, without this example, have assumed considerable proportions.

'It is extremely gratifying to find the laws of the Empire so loyally carried out, both in their letter and spirit, even upon a question which is looked upon with indifference by the large majority of Orientals.' [1]

In classical and early mediæval times Cyprus

[1] This letter tends to refute, if refutation were necessary, the totally unfounded allegation of Frau Ohnefalsch-Richter on p. 181 of *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern* (Berlin, 1913), that the British Consuls in Cyprus closed their eyes to the slave traffic so as to keep on good terms with the Pashas; cf. also p. 201.

was celebrated for the extent and beauty of its forests. The beauty of the forests that survive is unimpaired; but their extent was sadly reduced by the ravages of mediæval and Venetian shipbuilders, followed by reckless and improvident felling for fuel by the peasantry during the Turkish administration. Since 1879 so much has had to be done by the British Government, both in preserving and in reafforesting, in order to arrest the damage caused through its predecessor's remissness, that the existence of Turkish regulations for the protection of the forests of Cyprus is somewhat surprising. That they existed, however, is proved by the following document:

'To the British Consul (T),

'The local Government having learned that, notwithstanding the small number of forests in Cyprus, trees continue to be felled as before both for fuel to drive engines as well as for export, and that if this state of things does not cease the forests will soon disappear, thereby reducing the rainfall, the Central Mejlis Idaré has decreed as follows:

'"It is forbidden henceforth to export wood or to use it to drive engines; he who is found disobeying this order will be fined, and the wood will be confiscated by the Municipality."

'His Excellency the Governor-General having applied the above regulation to all the Qaimaqamliks, I have to request that you will be good enough to notify your nation also that henceforth they

must neither export wood nor use it for their engines.

'The Qaimaqam [1] of Larnaca,

'Mehmed 'Arif.

'*April* 28, 1289 [1873].'

The year 1876 was an eventful one in Turkish history, for it witnessed within the space of three months the deposition and murder of Sultan 'Abdu'l 'Aziz, the brief reign and deposition of his successor, Murad V,[2] and the accession of the latter's brother, 'Abdu'l Hamid II. These dramatic events were officially announced to the British Consulate in Cyprus in the following laconic missives from the Qaimaqam of Larnaca:

'To the British Consul (T),

'I have just received a telegram, dated May 18, Old Style, wherein His Excellency the Mutessarif states that he has received a telegram from the Grand Vizier, announcing that, by Divine dispensation and the assent of the people, Sultan 'Aziz Khan has been dethroned and that Sultan Murad Khan, the direct heir, has this day ascended the Imperial throne.

'In accordance with ancient custom, this event will be celebrated to-night by illuminations,

[1] On the elevation of Cyprus to the status of a Mutessariflik, the officials in charge of the Districts were raised from the rank of Mudir to that of Qaimaqam.

[2] Sultan Murad survived his deposition by many years, dying in the Palace of Chiragan on the Bosphorus in 1904.

and to-morrow we will receive the official visits at the Qaimaqamate.

'The Qaimaqam of Larnaca,

'Mehmed Beha'ed-Din.

'*May* 18/30, 1292.'

'To the British Consul (T),

'Yesterday, at one o'clock in the evening, I received a telegram from His Excellency the Mutessarif, informing me that the Grand Vizier had telegraphed to him to announce that, as Sultan Murad could not recover from the malady from which he has suffered since his accession to the throne, therefore, in accordance with the Sheri' Law, he has been dethroned and the heir, Sultan 'Abdu'l Hamid Khan II, has, in accordance with the Ottoman Nizam, ascended the throne on the 11th Sha'ban, 1292 (Thursday).

'I gave instructions last night for this event to be celebrated, in the usual manner, by illuminations; but since I am unable, owing to the affection of the kidneys from which I suffer, to leave my bed, I beg that you will excuse me from receiving official visits.

'The Qaimaqam of Larnaca,

'Mehmed Beha'ed-Din.

'*September* 1, 1292.'

On December 23, 1876, the first Ottoman Parliament came into being; and it transpires incidentally from a letter dealing with other matters that to this short-lived Assembly, with which the name of Midhat Pasha is generally

associated, Cyprus returned one member, a Turk of the name of Mehmed Effendi Sofuzadé. Four months after the constitution of 'Midhat's Parliament,' there broke out the fourth war of the nineteenth century between Russia and Turkey. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 was destined to have the most profound effect on the fate of Cyprus; its more immediate result, however, so far as the island was concerned, was a month of panic on the part of the Christian population. In consequence of the Russian conquests in Armenia and the Caucasus, large numbers of Moslem Circassians, unwilling to live under Russian rule, left their homes in the conquered districts and migrated into Turkish territory. The Ottoman Government, while establishing the bulk of these recruits to their Mohammedan population on the marches of Persia and Kurdistan, where it was hoped that they might intimidate the lawless Kurdish and Beduin tribes, distributed the remainder in small colonies in the more settled portions of the Empire, and in March 1878 allocated some 600 Circassians to Cyprus. The Orthodox Cypriotes received the announcement with dismay. In the first place, they objected to any increase in the Moslem element of the population; secondly, the unenviable reputation of the Circassians led them to fear that the new colonists would endeavour to live by brigandage and marauding. Meetings of protest against their landing were held in all the towns; petitions were addressed to the European Consuls, praying that the Porte

might be dissuaded from its purpose. In the midst of the excitement a steamer conveying 3,000 Circassians destined for Latakia ran aground on the Karpass peninsula, and the landing of these people in the island aroused such agitation among the Christians that not only were they speedily removed, but the colony intended for Cyprus was diverted to Adalia.

Hostilities between Russia and Turkey came to an end with the signature, on March 3, 1878, of the Treaty of San Stefano; but this instrument, whose principal feature was the creation of a vast Bulgaria, with a frontage both on the Black Sea and the Aegean, and extending very nearly to the Adriatic, provoked opposition from so many quarters that an international conference for its revision was summoned to meet at Berlin.

The Congress of Berlin opened on June 13 and concluded its labours precisely one month later; in the meantime, however, on June 4, 1878, a 'Convention of defensive alliance,' negotiated by Lord Beaconsfield, had been signed between Great Britain and Turkey, 'with the object of securing for the future the territories in Asia of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.' The principal article of the Convention, whereby the Sultan assigned Cyprus to be administered by Great Britain, is as follows:

'If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Im-

perial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Defensive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

'In return, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the Government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.'

In an Annex to the Convention, and in two Supplementary Agreements, were regulated the circumstances in which Cyprus was to be administered by Great Britain. The Annex is as follows:

'The Right Honourable Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, now the Grand Vizier of His Majesty the Sultan, have agreed to the following Annex to the Convention signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments on the 4th June, 1878:

'"It is understood between the two High Contracting Parties that England agrees to the following conditions relating to her occupation and administration of the Island of Cyprus:

'"I. That a Mussulman religious Tribunal

(Mekhémé-i-Sheri') shall continue to exist in the Island, which will take exclusive cognizance of religious matters, and of no others, concerning the Mussulman population of the Island.

'" II. That a Mussulman resident in the Island shall be named by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey (Evqaf) to superintend, in conjunction with a Delegate to be appointed by the British Authorities, the administration of the property, funds, and lands belonging to mosques, cemeteries, Mussulman schools, and other religious establishments existing in Cyprus.

'" III. That England will pay to the Porte whatever is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the Island; this excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years, stated to be 22,936 purses, to be duly verified hereafter, and to the exclusion of the produce of State and Crown lands let or sold during that period.

'" IV. That the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State (Arazi-i-Mirié ve Emlaq-i-Humayun), the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the Island referred to in Article III.

'" V. That the English Government, through their competent authorities, may purchase compulsorily, at a fair price, land required for public improvements, or for other public purposes, and land which is not cultivated.

'" VI. That if Russia restores to Turkey Kars

and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the Island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the Convention of the 4th June, 1878, will be at an end.

'"Done at Constantinople, the 1st day of July, 1878.

'"A. H. Layard.

'"Safvet."'

The two Supplementary Agreements were in the following terms:

'The Right Honourable Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having met together this day, have, in virtue of their full powers, signed the following Additional Article to the Convention of the 4th June, 1878, signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments.

'It is understood between the High Contracting Parties, without prejudice to the express provisions of the Articles I, II, and IV of the Annex of the 1st of July, 1878, that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, in assigning the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England, has thereby transferred to and vested in Her Majesty the Queen, for the term of the occupation and no longer, full powers for making Laws and Conventions for the government of the Island in Her Majesty's name, and for the

regulation of its commercial and consular relations and affairs free from the Porte's control.

'Done at Constantinople, the 14th day of August, 1878.

'A. H. Layard.
'Safvet.'

'It having been agreed between Her Britannic Majesty's Government and that of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan that all the rights reserved to the Ottoman Crown and Government under Article IV of the annex to the Convention signed at Constantinople on the 4th June, 1878, shall be commuted by a fixed annual money payment, the Undersigned, the Right Honourable Austen Henry Layard, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Porte, and His Excellency Alexandre Caratheodory Pasha, His Imperial Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, being duly authorized so to do, hereby declare that:

'"All property revenues, and rights reserved to the Ottoman Crown and Government in the said Article IV of the Annex to the Convention of the 4th June, including all revenue derived from tapous, mahloul, and intikal, are commuted hereby for a fixed annual payment of £5,000 to be made by Her Britannic Majesty's Government to that of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan every year during the British occupation of Cyprus, to be calculated from the beginning of next financial year.

'"Done at Constantinople, the third day of

February, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

'"A. H. Layard.

'"Al. Caratheodory."'

The Firman whereby Sultan 'Abdu'l Hamid communicated to his representatives in Cyprus the terms of the transfer of the island to Great Britain is now preserved in the Sheri' Court of Nicosia. It is not only a document of historical interest, but is an excellent example of the grandiloquent official style which the Turkish Government inherited from the Chrysobulls of its Byzantine predecessor (T) : [1]

'To my aiding Vazir Sadiq Pasha, Vali of the Vilayet of the Archipelago, a holder and bearer of the first class of the Orders of the Mejidieh and Osmanieh, one of the very illustrious Cabinet Ministers of my exalted Government, an honoured and great Minister of State, an illustrious and venerated Mushir, a basis of the order of the world, a manager of the affairs of the nation with penetrating thought, a finisher of important concerns of mankind with sound forecast, a consolidator of the structure of the State and of prosperity, a strengthener of the pillars of

[1] The translation given here is by Mr. H. A. Utidjian, I.S.O., late Translator of State Documents to the Government of Cyprus. It has been reproduced in Cobham's *Laws and Regulations affecting Waqf Property* (Nicosia, 1899), and in Fisher & Russell's *Statute Laws of Cyprus*, vol. ii., Nicosia and London, 1913.

happiness and grandeur, and possessor of a right in the various favours of God Most High—May God, Whose Name be exalted, eternize his grandeur.

'To Ahmed Pasha, one of my honoured Mir-i-Miran, Mutessarif of the Island of Cyprus, a holder and bearer of the third class of the said Most Distinguished Order of the Mejidieh, the pride of respected commanders, relied upon by illustrious persons, adorned with dignity and honour, possessor of power and magnificence, specially adopted by the bountiful favour of God the Sovereign Lord—may his prosperity endure!

'To the Naib and Mufti of Cyprus, models of learned Judges—may their learning increase! and

'To the Members of the Council and Notables of the people, the pride of the illustrious and honoured—may their honour be augmented!

'Be it known, on the arrival of my high Imperial Cypher, that the delivery, in a temporary manner, to Her of the Island of Cyprus having been desired and requested by the illustrious British Government in consequence of reasons known, and on a discussion of the matter in my Privy Council of illustrious Ministers; considering that the said Government has up to now, according to the requirement of the friendship and sincerity which have of old existed between my exalted Government and Her, given by actual deeds very many proofs of Her benevolent designs and intentions towards my Government, and that, consequently, it would be congruous with

the exigencies of the circumstances and of the case that the said Government should possess the said Island temporarily, it has been deemed expedient that the temporary administration of the said Island be handed over to the said Government with the condition (in accordance with the Convention that has been framed, sealed and signed in that behalf), that there shall be a Sheri' Court in the Island as heretofore, which will continue to conduct the Sheri' affairs of the Moslem community of the Island: that an Official shall be appointed by the Imperial Evqaf Ministry also from amongst the Moslem community, in order to administer, in conjunction with an official to be appointed by the said Government, the sacred mosques, and the properties, real estate and lands belonging to the Moslem cemeteries, schools and other religious institutions found in the Island. That the surplus remaining after deduction of local expenses from the total of my Imperial dues now paid to my exalted Government by the said Island shall be annually paid to my Goverment. That the miri and vaqf lands found in the said Island shall be freely sold or farmed out, and the moneys accruing from them shall be included in the said Imperial dues. And that the said Government shall be empowered to purchase at suitable prices, and through the officer in charge, the necessary unsown lands for public works, and for other purposes of general utility. And this decision having been referred to and submitted for my noble Majesty's sanction, and my High Imperial

Iradé having been appended and issued for the carrying out of the same accordingly, you, the above-mentioned Vali, Mutessarif, Naib, Mufti and others, are hereby ordered to proceed to the handing over to the officers of the said Government of the temporary administration of the said Island, and to be careful to see that no act or deed is done contrary to my Imperial approbation.

'Written on this thirtieth day of the month Jemadhi-ul-akhir, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-five. (July 1, 1878.)'

Although, as we have seen, the Convention, whereby the administration of Cyprus was entrusted to Great Britain was signed on June 4, no intimation of this fact reached the Island until more than a month later. On the other hand, a sudden influx into the island of speculators from Constantinople gave rise to rumours of the change which was impending. On July 5 Consul Watkins telegraphed to Sir Henry Layard of the existence of these rumours, and five days later addressed to him the following despatch :

'LARNACA,
'*July* 10, 1878.

'SIR,

'. . . The rumours to which my telegram alluded had their origin in the fact that several Agents of Banking houses in Constantinople who had arrived here on the 26th ult., ostensibly for

the purpose of bidding for the *Dîmes* of the Island, began about the 1st instant to purchase house-property and land. These purchases still continue, the sums invested up to the present amounting to about £T.40,000, and the prices paid exceeding by three times and more those which would have been given under ordinary circumstances before.

'The presence of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord John Hay gave more consistence to the rumours about a British occupation of Cyprus. H.M.S. *Raleigh* anchored off Larnaca on the 3rd instant and was followed next day by the *Invincible*. The Admiral was descried opposite "Dades" point towards sunset on the 4th instant; but the fleet kept cruising outside the Bay (with the exception of the *Raleigh*) until Monday the 8th, when they all anchored in our Roads.

'I feel it my duty moreover to telegraph the news to Your Excellency as the local Government, somewhat uneasy on account of these rumours and occurrences, sent from Nicosia the Secretary of the Vilayet to see what was going on, with the intention of telegraphing to Constantinople, and representing matters in an excited point of view.'

Two days after the above despatch was written an end was put to rumour by the following announcement, conveyed to the Consul by direction of Vice-Admiral (afterwards Admiral of the Fleet) Lord John Hay:

'LARNACA,
'*July* 12, 1878.

'SIR,

'I am directed by Vice-Admiral Lord John Hay, C.B., to inform you that His Lordship has, in accordance with a Convention between Her Majesty the Queen and His Majesty the Sultan, and under the authority of a Firman by the Sultan, been commanded by Her Majesty's Government to assume the temporary Government of the Island of Cyprus in the name of Her Majesty; that he has, this day, accordingly assumed the temporary administration of the Government, and has hoisted the British Flag at Nicosia, the capital of the Island.

'I have the honor to be, Sir,
'Your obedient Servant,
'JNO. T. SUETER,
'Secretary to Vice-Admiral
'Lord John Hay, C.B.

'To C. Watkins, Esqre.,
'H.B.M. Consul, Larnaca.'

At five p.m. on Friday, July 12, the British flag was duly hoisted in Nicosia in the presence of Lord John Hay, and of Mr. Walter Baring and Sami Pasha, the bearers respectively of a copy of the Convention and of the Imperial Ottoman Firman; and Lord John Hay assumed the administration from Bessim Pasha, the last Turkish Governor. On the same day a Commission was issued by the Queen, appointing Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet (afterwards Viscount) Wolseley

to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in and over the island of Cyprus. Sir Garnet, with a force of British and Indian troops, landed at Larnaca on July 22, and took over from Lord John Hay the government of the island.

With a letter of July 13, wherein Consul Watkins acknowledges the receipt of Lord John Hay's communication of the previous day, the series of archives of the British Consulates in Cyprus comes to an end. Perhaps, however, it will not be out of place to conclude this volume with a document which, although well outside the period embraced by Ottoman rule in the island, bears to that epoch no slight relation. On November 5, 1914, the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers severed the slender link whereby Cyprus was still attached to her Suzerain; and by an Order in Council, issued by the King on that day, the island was definitely annexed to the British Dominions:

'BY THE KING

'Whereas, by virtue of the Convention of defensive alliance between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan signed on June the fourth, 1878, the Annex to the said Convention signed on July the first, 1878, and the Agreement signed on behalf of Her Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on August the fourteenth, 1878, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan assigned the Island of

Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England upon the terms and conditions specified in the said Convention, Annex and Agreement:

'And whereas, by reason of the outbreak of war between His Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the said convention, Annex and Agreement have become annulled and are no longer of any force or effect:

'And whereas it has, for the reasons hereinbefore appearing, seemed expedient to His Majesty that the said Island should be annexed to and should form part of His Majesty's Dominions, in order that proper provision may be made for the government and protection of the said Island:

'Now therefore, His Majesty is pleased by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order and it is hereby ordered as follows:

'1. From and after the date hereof the said Island shall be annexed to and form part of His Majesty's Dominions and the said Island is annexed accordingly.

'2. Nothing in this Order shall affect the validity of any instruction issued by His Majesty under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus, or of any Order in Council affecting Cyprus or of any law or proclamation passed or issued under any such instructions or order, or of any act or thing done under any such instructions or order, law, or proclamation, save in so far as any provision of any such Order in Council, law, or proclamation may be repugnant

to the provisions of any Act of Parliament which may, by reason of the annexation hereby declared, become extended to Cyprus, or to any order or regulation made under the authority of any such act or having in Cyprus the force and effect of any such act.

'3. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, alter, add to, or amend this Order.

'4. This Order may be cited as the Cyprus (Annexation) Order in Council, 1914.

'And the Right Honourable Lewis Harcourt, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED

1687–1700. Richard Knolles: The General Historie of the Turks, &c. Continued by Sir Paul Rycaut, *London.*

1743–1745. *Richard Pococke: A Description of the East and some other Countries, *London.*

1754. *Alexander Drummond: Travels through different Cities of Germany and several parts of Asia, *London.*

1769. Giovanni Mariti: Viaggi per l' isola di Cipro, &c., *Lucca.* English translations, *London*, 1791, and by Cobham, *Nicosia*, 1895, and *Cambridge*, 1909.

1787. Giovanni Mariti, Viaggio da Gerusalemme per le coste della Soria, *Leghorn.*

1788. *Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία χρονολογική τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου, Venice.*

1804. *Michael de Vezin: Nachrichten über Aleppo und Cypern aus der noch ungedruckten englischen Original-handschrift. . . . (In Sprengel's Bibliothek der neuesten und wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen), *Weimar.*

* Quoted in *Excerpta Cypria.*

1810–1823. *E. D. Clarke: Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, *Cambridge* and *London*.

1814. *Ali Bey: Voyages en Afrique et en Asie, 1803–6, *Paris*. English translation, *London*, 1816.

1818. *Captain H. Light: Travels in Egypt . . . and Cyprus in 1814, *London*.

*J. M. Kinnear: Journey through Asia Minor, &c., 1813–14, *London*.

1820. *W. Turner: Journal of a Tour in the Levant, *London*.

1827–1835. J. Von Hammer: Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, *Pest*.

1841. *W. H. Engel: Kypros. Eine Monographie, *Berlin*.

1852. Ludwig Ross: Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und der Insel Cypern, *Halle*. (English translation of chapters relating to Cyprus by C. D. Cobham, *Nicosia*, 1910.)

1853. *Louis Lacroix: Les Iles de la Grèce, *Paris*.

1857–1878. Cyprus Consular Reports.

1875. Philippos Georgiou: *Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου*, *Athens*.

1879. L. De Mas Latrie: L'île de Chypre, sa situation présente et ses souvenirs du moyen-âge, *Paris*.

1901. J. Hackett: A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, together with some account of the Latin and other Churches existing in the Island, *London*.

* Quoted in *Excerpta Cypria*.

1908. C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria; Materials for a History of Cyprus. With an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus, *Cambridge*.

M. Epstein: The Early History of the Levant Company, *London*.

1913. W. Miller: The Ottoman Empire, 1801–1913, *Cambridge*.

1915. G. Jeffery: The Levant Company in Cyprus. (In *Notes and Queries* of March 20 and 27, 1915.)

1920. H. C. Luke and D. J. Jardine: The Handbook of Cyprus (Eighth Issue), *London*.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF BRITISH CONSULAR OFFICERS IN CYPRUS

(*a*) Consuls and Vice-Consuls at Larnaca

Petro Savioni, Vice-Consul	1626–
Richard Glover, Vice-Consul	1636–
Balthazar Sovran (acting)	1683–
George Barton, Consul	–1730
William Purnell, Consul	1732–1733
Stiles Lupart, Consul	1735–1738
George Barton, Consul (again)	1738–1739
George Wakeman, Consul	–1753
Alexander Drummond, Consul (Aleppo and Cyprus)	1753–1759
John Boddington, Vice-Consul (acting)	1759–1762
John Brand Kirkhouse, Vice-Consul (acting)	1762–1763
Timothy Turner, Vice-Consul	1763–1768
William Bashley Turner, Pro-Consul	1771–1776
John Baldwin, Vice-Consul	1776–1781
Nicholas Caprara (acting)	1784–1785
Michael de Vezin, Consul (Aleppo and Cyprus)	1776–1792
Pietro Crutta, Vice-Consul	17?
Antonio Vondiziano, Vice-Consul	1799–1840
Paul Vondiziano, Vice-Consul (acting)	1840-1841
John Lilburn, Consul	1841–1843

[1] This list is compiled from the available records, but cannot, as regards the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth centuries, claim to be exhaustive.

Niven Kerr, Consul		1843–1849
Demetrios Pierides, Vice-Consul	Under Rhodes	1849–1850
Antonio Palma, Vice-Consul		1850–1860
P. Wilkinson, Vice-Consul		1860–1861
Horace P. White, Vice-Consul	Independent	1861–1864
Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, Consul		1864–1865
T. B. Sandwith, Vice-Consul :	under Beirut	1865–1870
Robert Hamilton Lang, Consul	Independent	1871–1876
W. Riddell, Consul		1876
Z. D. Pierides (acting)		1876–1877
Charles Watkins, Consul		1877–1878

(*b*) Consular Agents at Other Ports

Limasol : A Vice-Consul referred to in 1738, and again in 1787 ; 1799, Demetrios Francoudes ; 18?–1845, Nicholas Francoudes ; 1869–1878, Pietro Loiso.

Paphos : 1799–1826, Andrea Zimbulachi ; 1826–1864, Smith Zimbulachi.

Famagusta : 182?–?, Pietro Brunoni.

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